THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 159 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JULY 1, 1944 NUMBER 1

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 1

EDITORIALS
Finland's False Friends 4
Prospects of Reconversion 5

ARTICLES
The Great Offensive *by Charles G. Bolté* 6
The Plot Against Wallace *by I. F. Stone* 7
Storm Signals over South America *by John W. White* 9
Advance Australia—Where? *by Brian Penton* 11
The Supreme Court's New Moot Suit *by Dwight Macdonald* 13
In the Wind 14

POLITICAL WAR
The Maquis's Plan for France *by Michael Clark* 15
Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 17

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Nodier After a Century *by Paul Rosenfeld* 18
Dr. Franklin *by Albert Guérard* 20
The Dominions and the Empire *by C. Hartley Grattan* 20
The Other Germany *by Eric Russell Bentley* 22
Films *by James Agee* 24
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 24
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 25

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 26

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 70 *by Jack Barrett* 28

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor J. KING GORDON
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Editor Political War Section
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Associate Editors: KEITH HUTCHISON • MAXWELL STEWART
ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*]

Assistant Editor J. MITCHELL MORSE
Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Director of Nation Associates
LILLIE SHULTZ

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL JONATHAN DANIELS
LOUIS FISCHER REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

UNLESS THE POLITICAL WISEACRES ARE HOPElessly at sea, Governor Thomas E. Dewey will have flown to Chicago before most *Nation* readers receive this issue and told the Republican convention that he is the boy "who cain't say no." For nobody doubts that he will consent to be "drafted" despite his 1943 statement: "I do not believe that an honest-to-goodness draft ever nominated the Presidential candidate of one of the major political parties." This will remain true even though his friends succeed in making his selection look a little more like a draft by inducing the other contenders to withdraw and getting him chosen unanimously on the first ballot. The strange thing is that with all his overwhelming support Mr. Dewey seems to have aroused little real enthusiasm. But as Turner Catledge of the New York *Times* has pointed out, the sole motivation of the Republicans at Chicago is "the desire to win, the hope to win, the determination to win—above all, to win." And Dewey on his vote-getting record in New York State looks more like a winner than anyone else available. Other qualifications would be superfluous.

*

AGREEMENT ON A PROGRAM IS PROVING harder than agreement on a candidate. The natural inclination of the G. O. P. bosses is to follow the rule for platform makers enunciated by Mark Sullivan—"The function of an opposition is to be an opposition." Believers in this strategy would gloss over the many differences on issues inside the party and concentrate on "turning the rascals out." Mr. Dewey himself evidently favors this approach; his one direct contribution to the deliberations of the resolutions committee has been a strong blast at bureaucracy. So far as domestic issues are concerned, suitable compromises can probably be arranged. But the international plank is causing trouble. Even though Mr. Willkie has been sidetracked, Governor Edge of New Jersey and others are protesting against the effort to build it out of "rubber words." Mr. Edge has been particularly incensed by the use of the phrase "peace force" as a means of avoiding any commitment to armed collective action against aggressors and has threatened to take the question to the floor of the convention—a move which the party managers wish to head off at all costs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO THE CREW OF THE U. S. S. COOS BAY. We sympathize with your indignation about the strike at the Lockland plant of the Wright Aeronautical Company, which held up for several days the production of vitally needed airplane engines. But it is clear that those whose duty it is to keep you informed about events at home have badly misled you in this instance. You inclosed with your letter to the Associated Press a fund you had subscribed out of your small pay for the purpose of "buying off" the "money-hungry strikers." We understand your contempt, but it is misdirected. The walkout at Lockland had nothing to do with money; it was a strike in protest against the transfer of seven skilled Negro workers to a department previously manned only by white personnel. It was an unofficial stoppage in defiance of the Automobile Workers' Union, which is not only opposed to strikes in war time but is strongly committed to the principle of racial equality in industry. Unfortunately there are minorities among the workers who, finding inspiration and encouragement in very high places, fight for discrimination even though it means interfering with the flow of material to the battle fronts. There are members of Congress and governors of great states who are constantly ranting about "white supremacy" and attacking bitterly every effort to allow Negroes equality of opportunity or their other rights as citizens. These are the men morally responsible for the Lockland trouble and many other strikes over the same issue. They provide the lead which ignorant workers follow when they attempt to exclude Negroes from their shops.

*

IN SPITE OF HYSTERICAL OPPOSITION FROM the "White Supremacy" bloc in Congress, the Fair Employment Practices Committee has been granted $500,000 to carry on its fight for racial equality in employment. Meager though the amount may be for the vast responsibility that has been imposed upon the agency, the provision of even this sum must be considered a major political victory for the advocates of racial justice. In the Senate particularly, the racial bigots left no stone unturned to discredit the FEPC and withhold its appropriation. The agency was charged with creating racial trouble, with seeking to communize America, and, in the words of Senator Bilbo, with furthering the Negro's "dream of social equality and intermarriage." Under pressure from the Southern bloc the Senate adopted an amendment which will prevent the government from seizing and operating plants to enforce the rulings of the FEPC against discrimination. The agency will still have the power to enforce its orders through cancelation of government contracts. A second Senate amendment providing that no decision by the FEPC could modify any act of Congress is regarded as an attempt to undermine its cancelation powers. The practical effect of these amendments is not clear as we go to press; but since the agency has achieved remarkable results in the past without adequate authority for cracking down on offenders, now, armed with a clear-cut Congressional mandate, it should make an even better record.

*

THE AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORY AND THE advance on Saipan hold promise of even more spectacular news before the summer is over, as Mr. Bolté suggests on another page. But against our Pacific successes, and the less impressive advances being made in Burma, must be placed Japan's counter-achievements in China. The capture of Changsha in itself was hardly of major importance. The Japanese have held the city briefly on at least two previous occasions and could presumably have retained control before now if they had so desired. But its present capture is part of a large strategic plan which involves the opening of direct rail communications from the Japanese mainland, via the Straits of Shimonoseki, to Canton and, ultimately, to Singapore and Burma. As long as the Japanese hold this line, our own efforts to supply China from a port on the South China coast are completely blocked. The only way for supplies to reach the Chinese armies and our own superbomber bases will continue to be the hazardous air route from India. As General Chennault has indicated, this may seriously delay our victory in the Pacific. Fortunately, the Chinese, by unexpectedly stubborn resistance, seem to have upset the Japanese time-table. The whole of the Canton-Hankow railway has not by any means been conquered, while Chinese counter-attacks in the north have prevented the enemy from consolidating his control of the Hankow-Peiping line. A settlement of the long-standing differences between the Communist and Kuomintang armies—which is still in process of negotiation—would release hundreds of thousands of additional Chinese soldiers in this crucial northern sector and would seem the one immediate hope of balking Japanese plans.

*

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE'S MISSION TO China has started most auspiciously. The Vice-President was greeted at the airport by an extraordinary delegation which included President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Foreign Minister T. V. Soong, War Minister Ho Ying-chin, and the heads of all but one of the diplomatic missions at Chungking. At a state banquet given the following evening Mr. Wallace made a notable speech, echoing China's legitimate aspirations and making it clear that while America had abandoned the kind of imperialism that insisted on special privileges and concessions it would not again dodge its responsibilities for preserving peace in the Pacific. But Mr. Wallace's success in winning the Chinese has not been confined to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formal speech-making. They have found him extremely well-informed and interested in the potential development of Chinese agriculture and industry after the war. Mr. Wallace found time in his first few days to take a long tour through Szechuan's rich farming country, where he examined the latest experiments in applying Western technique to China's age-old land. The Vice-President also made a hit with the American G. I.'s by stripping to the waist and playing three fast games of volley ball. We should probably have heard a howl of protest from the Republicans that the Vice-President was more interested in playing politics than volley ball if they had not already seen to it that few, if any, of the G. I.'s in China will have a vote this fall.

*

ON THE ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST FRONT THE people themselves have scored some victories. The most important of the gains was the recognition of the new Bonomi government by the Allies. There was some delay over the issues of including Badoglio in the new Cabinet and compelling an oath of allegiance to the king. Badoglio, according to last reports, was not included, and whereas the Badoglio administration pledged allegiance to "the king and his royal successors," the new government swore to act "in the supreme interest of the nation." The monarchy still survives in vestigial form in the person of Prince Humbert, but a liberal republicanism is evidently calling into being new institutions of democracy. The improved situation is showing itself in other ways. Five years ago the tenor Gigli, on his return to Italy from an American tour, informed his countrymen that the United States was on the brink of civil war, that it was being ruined by the Jew who controlled the trade unions, that its arts were in decay, and that there was a "general nervousness and disorientation and an air of extortion and corruption." Gigli was booked last week to sing before American soldiers, but so violent was popular protest because of his previous pleasant associations with Fascists and Nazis that the American officer in charge had to cancel the engagement. Colonel Charles Poletti, former Lieutenant Governor of New York, is now A.M.G. commissioner for the Rome area. It is heartening to learn that his purge of Fascist collaborators from government agencies is going to be thorough and "pitiless." He told Homer Bigart of the New York *Herald Tribune* that he would lean heavily on the underground movement of resistance, previously heavily snubbed by A.M.G. "I sympathize with the views of these fellows," he said. "What the hell—they've been carrying on the fight for months. They are going to be asked to help." Here, at long last, is the American accent we have been waiting to hear breaking crudely into the suave evasiveness of diplomatic politesse.

THE INEPTITUDE OF OLIVER LYTTLETON, British Minister of Production, and the disproportionate ballyhoo which his remarks raised in this country, both show that the OWI and the British Ministry of Information have not yet completed their educational jobs. One essential for mutual understanding between two countries is a sympathetic grasp of each other's mythology. Our myth is that we entered the war as the surprised victim of unprovoked aggression. The British, on the contrary, take pride in the fact that they took the initiative against Hitler; they declared war on him because of his aggressions against others. And it was because of this pride that Mr. Lyttleton intended to pay a compliment when he said: "It is a travesty on history ever to say that America was forced into the war." What he meant was that America, like Britain, had taken its stand for international morality as a matter of free will, not because of *force majeure*. Obviously the British story includes an element of compensation for the sorry record of Chamberlainism. Only when Nazi aggression had grown beyond the point where it clearly menaced British interests did the British government reluctantly and hesitatingly take a stand. Our policy toward the aggressors was to back strong moral protests with gradually stronger measures "short of war." Undoubtedly our embargoes against Japan and our tentative support of China were provocative from the Japanese point of view, but it was the kind of provocation of which we need not be ashamed except to the extent that it was inadequate and belated. Neither America nor Britain has to apologize for resisting aggression: both need to become more conscious of their tardiness in resistance—a tardiness for which they are now atoning heavily.

*

THE PRICE CONTROL EXTENSION BILL WHICH was finally adopted by the Senate-House conference committee and subsequently passed by both houses is distinctly less objectionable than either the House or Senate version of the bill; but it remains highly unsatisfactory. After a four-day struggle the notorious Bankhead amendment—designed to roll up huge profits for the textile indust y—was discarded in favor of a compromise that will ost clothing prices by somewhat less than the $35(0,000 indicated in the original amendment. The conferees struck out a provision which would have removed all restrictions on wage increases for workers earning less than $37.50 a week and the amendment permitting appeals to the District Courts, but they retained, with some slight modifications, most of the amendments designed to weaken the OPA's enforcement powers. These include a provision making it possible for a price violator who is being sued for treble damages to escape punishment by showing that the violation was not wilful and that reasonable precautions had been taken

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to prevent it. Another crippling provision requires the OPA to bring action against price violators in the district where the defendant lives or has his office. The new bill also prohibits the OPA from denying a black-market operator the right to sell rationed goods, and requires increases in rent ceilings in cases of "substantial hardship." War Mobilization Chief James F. Byrnes, who was largely responsible for the compromise on the Bankhead amendment, is reported to be strongly opposed to a veto on political grounds, and it is probable that the President is reluctant to compel Congress to cut short its recess. But rather than permit special interests to cripple the entire stabilization program, the President should veto the bill and force Congress to pass some sort of simple continuing legislation.

*

WE LIKE AN INDEPENDENT CONGRESSMAN. John M. Coffee (Dem.) of Washington has a healthy habit of speaking out of turn and not waiting for the nod from his party leaders. It has made him one of the most consistent and effective of the House liberals. Last week he introduced a resolution calling upon the President to break off diplomatic relations with Franco Spain in the interests of a speedier victory and a lasting peace. This in itself constituted a sharp jab at an Administration which had certainly showed no marked hostility to Franco's fascists. But Coffee went on to insist that this should be but a preliminary to the appointment of a military commission charged with getting arms, ammunition, and medical supplies to "the heroic Republican guerrilla armies of Spain when their revolt, timed to weaken the Nazi armies in their moment of greatest crisis, creates in Spain one of the active and decisive battlefields of this global war." It is good to hear a representative of the American people remind his colleagues and his government that the important issue of this war is the utter destruction of fascism.

Finland's False Friends

THE Finnish tragedy is drawing toward its inevitable climax. The Red Army, in the first of its summer offensives, has smashed through the Mannerheim lines in short order and captured the key port of Viipuri. This not only opens the road to the Finnish capital, 135 miles distant, which is being evacuated by civilians, but cuts the main line of communications for the Finnish forces in eastern Karelia. It is in this region that the Russians have now begun new drives, north and south of Lake Onega, and are rapidly retaking Russian territory which the Finns conquered with German aid in 1941 and hoped to retain as part of a "Greater Finland."

Those hopes faded long ago, and now the trap into which the Finns walked so heedlessly when they joined up with the Axis in 1940 is about to close on them. Their one chance to escape total occupation is to make peace, and it is not surprising that rumors of negotiations for an armistice should be spreading in Sweden. But no real peace can be made between Russia and the present Finnish government, which, clinging obstinately to its Nazi allies, threw away its opportunity three months ago. By all reports the Finnish people themselves are desperately tired of the war, but it is not yet clear whether they are prepared to insist on its being brought to a close. In order to survive, in order to get a new chance to build a really democratic state, they must find leaders who are prepared to end forever a foreign policy based on traditional hostility to Russia. If Finland showed its good-will by throwing out the men who have brought it to its desperate situation, we do not believe that the Soviets would insist on a Carthaginian peace.

When peace is Finland's only hope, it is criminal to encourage it to hold out. Yet this is exactly what some of the pre-Pearl Harbor isolationists and other enemies of the Administration in Washington have been doing. The expulsion of the Finnish Minister, Procope, who for far too long had been permitted to carry on anti-Allied activities in this country, has been the signal for vicious attacks on Russia and Mr. Roosevelt. Representative Knutson of Minnesota, for instance, has accused the President of having given "the Russians a free hand to invade Finland and wage a war which is as savage and barbaric as it is unjustifiable."

Propaganda of this sort ignores completely Finnish complicity in German plans of conquest and adopts uncritically the line that Finland was a victim of Russian aggression in June, 1941. We suppose it is hopeless to offer to men like Knutson any facts which conflict with their theories, but unbiased sympathizers with the Finns will find revealing information in an article in the June issue of *Harper's*. Its author, Major Erwin Lessner, is an Austrian refugee who fought as a volunteer with the Finns during the "Winter War." He describes a meeting in the village of Lapua, where he was stationed, only eleven days after the end of hostilities, at which Parson Kares, leader of the Finnish fascists, persuaded Marshal Mannerheim, never an admirer of Germany, to give his blessing to an alliance with the Nazis for the purpose of waging a new war against Russia. That was in March, 1940; in May the first German soldiers landed in Finland, and work was begun on a great German air base at Petsamo, on the shores of the Arctic, an air base from which many deadly attacks have been launched against American and British ships on their way to Murmansk. When the moment came, a little more than a year later, for Hitler to attack Russia, there were at least seven German divisions in Finland ready to take their part in the invasion. Under these circumstances it is hardly pos-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sible to describe Finland as the victim of unprovoked aggression, even if Russians fired the first shot.

There are still some seven German divisions in Finland, and we wonder what our Knutsons would suggest that the Russians do about this force. In order to save Finland from invasion, is it to be allowed to stay there unscathed, menacing Russian communications with Murmansk? Or would they suggest that Russia sign an armistice with Finland on terms which will allow these German troops to withdraw in good order and so become available for reinforcement of Rommel's hard-pressed legions in Normandy? How many American lives are they prepared to sacrifice in order to uphold the hands of Finland's fascists? Unless they have an answer to such questions, they will serve both Finland and America better than they are now doing by advising Helsinki to make a peace that will enable the Red Army to insure the utter destruction of the German divisions cornered in the north.

Prospects of Reconversion

RECONVERSION is not so close as it would appear to be in the headlines, and its timing will be determined not in Washington but in Europe. WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson has been under pressure from industry for months to permit some resumption of civilian production, and he has now announced that he will permit three steps in that direction. Manufacturers will be allowed enough materials for working models of products to be turned out after the war. They will be allowed to purchase necessary machinery, tools, and dies for civilian production out of available surpluses and, where it will not interfere with war production, to place orders with the machine-tool industry. Both these steps seem to us proper and necessary. A third is still clouded in considerable doubt. Restrictions are to be lifted on aluminum and magnesium in order to permit civilian output where man-power is available. But on the question of the availability of man-power there seems to be a difference of opinion between the military and the War Production Board.

The man-power problem is extremely complicated. On the one hand, employment in munitions production has dropped 800,000 since the peak of last fall and may drop another million by the end of this year. On the other hand, as Chairman Nelson told the Truman committee, there is still a serious shortage of labor in some areas, and some 200,000 workers must be shifted to tight labor areas within the next few months if we are to meet current production goals. Unlike materials, labor cannot be crated and shipped where it is wanted. All sorts of factors—wages, housing, the unwillingness of people to leave their homes—play a part. Nelson's position seems to be that since labor is not fluid and many workers cannot be moved at all, a certain amount of civilian production could be allowed in areas of labor surplus. The military authorities fear that if such resumption is permitted, it will ease pressure on workers to move into sections where there are labor shortages. The position seems to be that a certain amount of unemployment is necessary on the edges of the war effort to keep labor moving toward places where it is needed.

Any considerable reconversion is out of the question, as Nelson has made clear, until we are closer to Hitler's defeat. The army woke up in Italy to the need for more artillery and in France to the need for more tanks—though it would have expanded both programs long ago if it had been more willing to learn from Russian experience. Now some reconverted facilities, notably in the railroad-equipment industry, will have to be turned back to the production of tanks. This is no easy task, and illustrates the danger of permitting reconversion before we are certain that there may not be a change in the fortunes of war. Both capital and labor are apt to press too soon for reconversion, and we may find them both allied against the military. It would be safer to overrate rather than to underrate the extent of German resistance and the task of defeating Japan when the European war is over.

Some small part of the pressure has been eased by the action of the military in consenting to let the new Production Executive Committee of the WPB decide what plants and what localities are to be affected by the cutbacks in military orders. It would do a great deal for labor morale and smooth the economic readjustments involved if labor were represented directly on this committee, as asked by R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers' Union. The system of labor advisory committees is unsatisfactory at best and actually exists largely on paper. At the present time there are 769 industry advisory committees—and 13 labor advisory committees. The figures are the best commentary on the realities of labor-management cooperation at the WPB.

The job of reconversion is enormous and delicate and will need much good-will and cooperation to be successful. At present, discussion of the subject is far too much concerned with when industry can get the go signal and how soon controls will be removed. That way lies a return to pre-war production levels, and that, as Thomas said in Washington last week, means fifteen to nineteen million unemployed. Labor representation, direct representation at the top levels, would give labor a chance to keep attention focused on the need for full employment. "The type of planning that I think is necessary," Thomas said, "is not planning for reconversion but planning for full utilization of our material and human resources." Theoretically everyone shares that perspective; actually little is being done about it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Great Offensive

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

WE'VE heard a lot of talk about global warfare, but now for the first time we are seeing it waged. The past three weeks have seen the beginnings of the true global offensive; the long and anxious period in which the United Nations built up their strength and deployed their forces is now finished. With the opening of the global offensive, the end of the war is for the first time within sight.

The great offensive has been well planned and well coordinated. It is a concurrent offensive, waged on opposite sides of the world, aimed at destroying our enemies' strength and pushing them back into their homelands. There is no out for Germany or Japan: having lost the initiative, having failed to crush us before we became more powerful than they, they have lost everything—including an early advantage, that of possessing interior lines of communication. We now have superior strength massed against both of them: what good are interior lines if they dare not move troops from one front to another for fear of an offensive against the weakened front? When you have won an empire by conquest and must hold it all by force, and when you are then confronted by superior force at many or all of your boundaries, you are inescapably in a dilemma, and interior lines are no longer of major importance.

Consider Germany's situation. The Allies have done a tremendous job of landing men and material on the Norman beaches; now they have taken Cherbourg, a deep-water port through which they can funnel even greater quantities of men and material, harbor demolitions notwithstanding. The local German reserves have been roughly handled, and were not able to force a penetration to the sea in the early stages of the operation when the Allies were comparatively weak ashore. As this is written, the enemy's strategic counter-attack has still not developed, which means either: (1) that the Germans couldn't move their mobile reserve over lines of communication badly battered by the Allied air force and the sabotage of the French Army of the Interior; or (2) that SHAEF's astute method of issuing consecutive weekly warnings to European fishermen to stay home has made the Germans fear other landings at spots which they dare not leave uncovered.

Meanwhile a strong and masterfully commanded Allied force has been driving the Germans up Italy—obviously toward no good end, unless the mauled Tenth and Fourteenth armies can somehow contrive a stand on the Pisa-Rimini line. With the Allies poised on Corsica and Sardinia, no troops can leave southern France to aid their unfortunate comrades on the peninsula; nor, with Tito active in Yugoslavia, can help come from the Balkans.

Likewise the long eastern front. Finland appears on the verge of quitting the war, thus in effect exposing the extreme left flank of the German line. The successful drive in Finland is directly linked with the opening of the main summer offensive on the White Russian front around Vitebsk. Removal of Finland from the Russians' right flank opens the way for a drive through the Baltic states; but no such drive is profitable so long as the Germans hold Vitebsk, the strongest bastion on the entire eastern front and a thorn in the left flank of any such drive. In last winter's offensive against Vitebsk, the local Soviet command was known as "troops of the Second Baltic Front," which suggested a clue to the intention of that offensive, as Vitebsk is a long way from the Baltic.

The Germans held Vitebsk then, and according to their communiqués threw the Russians back from their temporarily commanding positions around the city. Presumably great strength has been massed for the present offensive, but Vitebsk still looks like a tough nut. It has been extensively fortified, with concrete strong points, wire fields, mine fields, and artillery batteries sited in great depth. However, if there is a single lesson to be learned from this war, it is that *no static defense can long hold out against determined and resourceful attack.* Vitebsk may have fallen by the time this is read; if it has, the way will be open for a drive through the Baltic states, or straight across the northern approaches to Poland, above the barrier of the Pripet Marshes.

This is the short route to Germany from the east. As such, it will be strongly defended. But what if it is, or what if Vitebsk holds awhile? Another Soviet offensive is poised below the Pripet Marshes, even closer to Germany; yet another is aimed through Rumania. The Germans cannot shift their forces in anticipation of one or another of these offensives; they must try to hold *all* their ground with inferior strength, bolstered by increasingly large non-German levies and by that chimerical concrete-and-steel about which they themselves waxed so hoity-toity when they had crashed through the Maginot Line. Time and space are the elements of strategy: on the east as on the west and south, the Allies dictate the timing, and each new phase of the offensive robs the Germans of space. Each phase of the offensive links with the others, and there is symbolism as well as very

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

real military gain in the triangular shuttle bombing of Germany which is now to be started.

In the Far East the lines are not yet so tightly constricted, but the 1,100-mile leap from Eniwetok to Saipan, the cleaning up of Biak, the pounding of the Central Pacific bases, the counter-blows in the Burma-India theater, and the first fine performance of the Superfortresses show the development of the anti-Japanese pattern. The thrust to Saipan, by-passing Truk with derision, seemed daring; but we have Admiral Nimitz's word for it that we "put enough muscle into our Fifth Fleet to handle the situation." The "situation" might have been the entire Japanese fleet; but since Kwajalein, I believe, each of our Central Pacific advances has been covered by a task force powerful enough to engage the Imperial Fleet on favorable terms.

Saipan seemed the final step that would force the Japanese into a fleet engagement: however, the loss of 402 planes on a single day, and the loss and damage to their surface units two days later when our carrier-based aircraft intercepted their task force, turned them away before the Fifth Fleet could close the action. Our admirals regretted this, but eventually how much more regrettable for the Japanese. Our hold on Saipan puts us within striking distance of the Philippines, Formosa —an island to watch carefully—and Japan itself. If the Imperial Command would not risk the fleet to meet this threat, it is difficult to say when it will take risk.

The gap in the Far Eastern war, of course, is the ground situation in China; but this seems the enemy's offensive of desperation, designed to secure the Peiping-Hankow-Canton rail link for overland passage of troops from Manchuria to the South China coast before the sea lanes are closed. An offensive of desperation may win temporary advantage, but it doesn't win wars, or even delay defeats very long.

The Plot Against Wallace

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 22

TOM CORCORAN is running quite a campaign behind the scenes here to get the Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination for Supreme Court Justice Douglas, and the tactics being used have disturbed some of Douglas's own colleagues on the bench. Corcoran is hated by the old-line Democratic politicians for past reasons that reflect credit on him, and mistrusted by most of the New Dealers for current reasons that don't. He still has a coterie of office-holders who depend on him for advice and owe their original appointments to his influence as a Presidential adviser before 1940. He uses this coterie for all it is worth on both public and private business, and he has been pretty successful in harnessing it to the Douglas chariot.

So active has the campaign for Douglas become on the Hill that it was discussed at a recent session of the Senate Judiciary Committee as "Tom's Plot." One of those who have been doing some under-cover lobbying for Justice Douglas in Congressional circles and elsewhere is Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, who owes a good deal to Tom's counsel. If the reports I get are correct, Forrestal has overstepped the bounds of propriety in his slurs on Wallace. If Forrestal is wise he will attend to the navy, where he has made a good reputation, and leave politics, where he may lose it, alone.

Corcoran seems to have entree to the White House again, where he takes credit for the Pepper and Hill victories. In White House circles his line is that while labor is on record for Wallace, it doesn't really care and would be as well satisfied with Douglas. With laborites his line is that, of course, Wallace is the best choice for Vice-President, but the reactionaries may block him, and Douglas would make a good second string for labor's bow. With politicians on the Hill, who are hostile to Wallace anyway, the Douglasites play on the argument that Wallace would lose the ticket votes. With the right, the line, of course, is to stress the danger of Wallace's succession to the Presidency. Perhaps Arthur Krock's Sunday dispatch in the New York *Times* of June 18 indicates that the right may be convinced that Douglas is less dangerous than Wallace. Krock refers to the Supreme Court Justice with curious equanimity as "a judge more radical than otherwise, but deeply native in his personality, intellectual process, and geographical background." I find it hard to see where Wallace of corn-belt Iowa is less "deeply native" than Douglas of the Yale Law School. From so calloused a son of the Wall Street soil as Krock, the phrase may be obscure, but I am inclined to think it significant.

Whether as an ally of Corcoran's or independently, Joe Kennedy is also playing a part in the anti-Wallace campaign and has spread word that the White House is not really for his nomination, which I know is untrue. The President is for Wallace, and his position is to his credit, for there is no one better equipped to carry on the best traditions of the New Deal at home and abroad. The White House second choice, if any, seems to be Ambassador Winant, an engaging figure but much Wallace's inferior in ability and insight. An attempt has been made unsuccessfully to play on the religious angle. Both Kennedy and some of Tom's supporters have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

claimed that Wallace would alienate the Catholic vote. But this argument has made no headway at the White House and has been resented by important Catholics here, who like Wallace as much as they dislike loose talk of "the Catholic vote."

The Douglasites have played no part, of course, in the attempt of Southern reactionaries to free the Electoral College from popular control but are not without hope that the threat may be enough to dislodge Wallace for their own candidate. Tom's own second choice, Sam Rayburn, is loyal to the President and stands with the Roosevelt Democrats in Texas. Yet either Douglas or Rayburn might be the beneficiary of the Southern revolt, and Corcoran is shrewd enough to understand this. He has much influence with Senator Pepper and seems to have tried to dissuade him from making a speech attacking the Electoral College conspiracy.

The Wallace crowd blames Corcoran's hostility on the Vice-President's opposition to cartels. Corcoran is the dominant figure in the powerful Sterling Drug, Inc., as Sterling Products is now known, and Sterling was closely allied before the war—and before Tom came into it—with I. G. Farben's American subsidiary, General Aniline and Film. The monopolistic policies followed by Sterling in the handling of atabrine, the best of our quinine substitutes, lead straight to the revival of cartel agreements after the war. But this view of Tom's opposition to Wallace is much oversimplified. Douglas has been his pet candidate for President or Vice-President ever since the 1940 campaign. Tom loves politics and he loves power. The manipulation of men and events satisfies his deepest instincts. He is charming, shrewd, energetic, and ruthless. He feels that he has made several Supreme Court justices, at least two Cabinet members, a brace of Representatives and Senators, and many lesser officials, and he would like to make a President.

What has alienated those who once admired him and worked with him is the way in which he has used these men and his influence with them to further his present private interests as a Washington corporation lawyer and lobbyist. He has said that he has put his old conscience "on the shelf" temporarily while he makes some money, but one wonders whether a man can change consciences as easily as he changes shirts. The private interests he serves today run counter to the public causes that once had the benefit of his great abilities. He used his influence at the Department of Justice to get much too mild a consent decree in the Sterling case. He used his influence with Senator Pepper to stop the Senate Patents Committee before it could investigate that case. He is one of the principal advisers of that extraordinarily stupid man Leo T. Crowley, whose policies as Alien Property Custodian and Foreign Economic Administrator have been of great help to Sterling at home and abroad. I'd hate to see Tom add a Vice-President and some day a President to his private collection.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TO LOOK FORWARD to a Republican victory in 1936 the Republicans must produce a candidate who can really be considered a rival to Franklin Roosevelt's remarkable personality, with a constructive plan for the social and economic reorganization of the United States which will give a guaranty that it will work better than the Roosevelt program. There is not a single Republican candidate in sight who could be taken seriously.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *June 6, 1934.*

IN EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY, in every branch of industry, workers by hundreds, by thousands, and by tens of thousands have been laying down their tools in strikes that have been overwhelmingly supported by the rank and file. . . . Recognition of the union with its implication of the closed shop is the central issue in the rising wave of unrest which may culminate in a strike of steel workers in June.—*June 6, 1934.*

NO MORE STRIKING EXAMPLE of the Roosevelt-Hull new Latin American policy can be found than our imminent withdrawal from Haiti. Though less important in the eyes of the world than President Roosevelt's continentalizing of the Monroe Doctrine and the abolition of the Platt Amendment, the proposed manner of our leaving Haiti is a more conclusive proof of the high purpose and good faith of the New Deal in inter-American affairs.—ERNEST GRUENING, *June 20, 1934.*

THE INTERNATIONAL ARMAMENT RING will rejoice in the collapse of the League's effort to initiate an embargo on the shipment of munitions to the Chaco. Although twenty-three nations, including Great Britain and the United States, indicated their willingness to cooperate in the project, ten others made their acceptance conditional on the formal adherence of Germany and Japan, who as non-members of the League have thus far declined to join in the proposed move.—*June 20, 1934.*

HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, meeting in Venice to the accompaniment of dazzling festivities and political rites, have agreed on a "virile peace" for Europe. . . . Obviously, when the tumult and the shouting dies, it will appear that nothing has happened which is likely to relax the desperate tensions in Europe.—*June 27, 1934.*

FIRST PLACE AMONG the medical marvels of 1934 was easily won by the long-awaited official A. M. A. report on the socialization of medicine . . . issued to the public by Dr. Morris Fishbein in the form of "Ten Commandments." . . . These pronouncements are in effect a command to the American public to pull in its neck and leave medicine to its sole owners and monopolists, the medical profession. —*June 27, 1934.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Storm Signals over South America

BY JOHN W. WHITE

Santiago, Chile, June 18

ECUADOR'S revolution on May 28 and the refusal of Colombia's Senate two weeks earlier to let President López yield to anti-democratic opposition and resign are storm signals of new unrest in South America. Throughout the continent the persecuted democratic forces are determined to try at last to free their countries from their long subjection to fascist-minded dictators. The dictators, quite naturally, are making frenzied efforts to crush this democratic unrest before it gets out of control. Fascism holds no terror for them; it is the nightmare of democracy that drives them to imitate Gestapo methods.

In Argentina, Paraguay, and Peru leaders of organized labor, "the leftist hordes," and other adherents of democracy are being arrested, tortured, and either deported or sent to concentration camps. In Bolivia the junta set up by the revolution which overthrew President Peñaranda under the guidance of Buenos Aires has resorted to similar measures in preparation for the forthcoming "elections," which it is hoped will obtain for the government the recognition of the United States Department of State. These preparations are so thorough that the rigidly censored news agencies were permitted as long ago as March 15 to transmit the prediction that the "elections" would be won by the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario,* which has been supporting the de facto regime. In Brazil the signs of popular unrest induced President Vargas to assure the Brazilian people on April 15 that democracy would be restored to them as soon as the war was over.

Of the ten South American countries, only Chile and Uruguay have been able to preserve their democracy free from internal threat. Yet one prediction can be made about South America in all safety: there will be no political stability, no organized production, no ordered economy, no efficient participation in post-war cooperation until freely elected, popularly supported democratic governments are set up in all the republics.

The war has been history's greatest boon to the South American dictators. When the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor thrust the United States into the war, almost completely unprepared, Washington found most South American rulers friendly disposed toward Hitler and Mussolini. Hundreds of millions of dollars had to be poured into their countries to keep the dictatorships "in line"—that is, to purchase an allegiance that in more than one case has been only half-hearted at best. But we were in the biggest war in our history, and it was necessary to adopt a policy that would assure to the United Nations, instead of to Germany and Japan, the strategic raw materials so essential to winning the war.

While superficially adhering to the Atlantic Charter and pretending to cooperate with the United Nations in crushing fascism in Europe, the South American dictators have maintained fascist-style totalitarian regimes at home. Argentina's recently established military government is the most notorious example. Several years before the war started, however, Getulio Vargas had set up in Brazil an Italian-style corporative state which he calls the New State *(Estado Novo)* instead of the New Order. In Peru, Prado's government is a continuation of the totalitarian state which Marshal Benavides established with the assistance of Japanese military advisers and an Italian police mission. The political secret police organized by this mission has proved fully as efficient as any in Germany, Russia, or Italy. The country's only democratic party, the APRA, is outlawed, and four hundred of its most prominent members are in exile.

It is a significant commentary on the so-called democracy of the South American republics that the democratic forces in the various countries are obliged to communicate with one another by means of "undergrounds" similar to those in the occupied countries of Europe. These undergrounds use the two democratic capitals of Santiago and Montevideo as relay points for collating and redistributing their information. It was through the underground that Velasco Ibarra was able to keep in touch with the democratic parties of Ecuador during his long exile in Chile. A similar organization keeps the exiled members of Peru's APRA in touch with their comrades at home. The underground communication system between Buenos Aires and Montevideo handles almost as much "business" as the regular postal service.

The Nazi type of concentration camp has become an established institution, complete of course with torture chambers and whipping-posts. One of the first acts of the Villarroel government in Bolivia was to establish a concentration camp on Coati Island, in Lake Titicaca, two miles above sea level, and to fill it with democratic leaders and other "Communists." Argentina's concentration camp is in the Territory of Neuquen, in bleak, windy Patagonia. It is packed with democrats, Socialists, Communists, workers, and the other left elements which Argentina's generals hate and fear. Peru has its concentration camp on Fronton Island, near Callao. The affidavits detailing the tortures to which prisoners

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are subjected would be unbelievable had not the routine in Nazi camps been described so often.

The political situation in Ecuador before the recent revolution was typical of that existing in most of the continent. For the last three months President Arroyo del Rio had concentrated all the activity of his government on one purpose—to prevent the entry into the country of Velasco Ibarra. Ibarra was the extremely popular Presidential candidate of the united democratic parties, which comprised the democratic wing of the conservatives, the Socialists, the unimportant Communists, organized labor, and other liberal forces. His partisans have always insisted that he has the support of 75 per cent of Ecuador's voters. Even allowing for enthusiastic exaggeration, there never has been any doubt of his ability to carry by a wide margin any honest, uncontrolled election. The crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at Guayaquil was described by the news agencies as the greatest popular demonstration in the recent history of Ecuador. The one thing, of course, that President Arroyo del Rio did not want was an honest election. He had picked an "official" candidate as his successor and was supporting him with all the power of the government in order to keep his own fingers in the graft.

Velasco Ibarra left his long exile in Chile early in March on the Argentine steamer Rio de la Plata, bound for Colombia. President Arroyo del Rio at first refused to let the steamer call at any port in Ecuador but finally permitted it to anchor at the entrance to the Gulf of Guayaquil. A small army of political secret police was sent to the place to prevent anyone from approaching Velasco Ibarra. Passengers boarding the ship were not permitted to be accompanied by friends or members of their families. These elaborate precautions made it impossible for the Rio de la Plata to load a large consignment of balsa wood that was to have been shipped to airplane factories in the United States, but saving Ecuador from Velasco Ibarra was a much more important matter in the mind of Arroyo del Rio than Ecuador's participation in the war effort.

Since becoming President, Velasco Ibarra has promised the people of Ecuador a democracy similar to Chile's. In nearby Colombia the recent refusal of the Senate to accept the resignation of President Alfonso López and his subsequent resumption of the administration insure the continuance of progressive democracy in that country also. Thus the two South American countries closest to the Panama Canal will now have democratic administrations, eager to cooperate with the United States instead of having to be bribed to do so.

Argentina presents the most dangerous threat to the future of democracy in South America. But Argentine meat, hides, wheat, and linseed are so vitally essential to the war effort that the military clique at Buenos Aires knows the United Nations do not dare impose the economic sanctions that would force the downfall of the government. Aggression is part of the totalitarian ideology, as we have learned at great cost, and the Buenos Aires government has lost no time in getting its aggression machinery into operation. The overthrow of Peñaranda in Bolivia was the first step and the only one that so far has met with success. Soon after the Bolivian revolt the Chilean government thwarted an Argentine plot to overturn the strongly democratic government of President Rios. The threat in little Uruguay became so serious that a United States squadron was sent to Montevideo and Admiral Ingram announced to the world that Washington was prepared to defend its friends anywhere against totalitarian aggression. An Argentine-inspired plot against Peru organized in La Paz after the fall of Peñaranda was discovered before it acted.

Not only the democracy but also the peace of the South American continent is endangered by the ambitions of the military clique that rules at Buenos Aires. War and the threat of war have always been a popular strategy for unpopular rulers. The Chilean government recently announced that it had arrested and deported two Argentine officers who were trying to organize a smuggling ring to keep the Argentine army supplied with copper, iron, and other war materials. A chair of national defense has been organized at La Plata University as part of the government's program to educate Argentine youth for war. Inaugurating the course on June 10, Secretary of War Perón explained the government's political goals thus: "Diplomatic action is necessary, but when it fails, we must resort to force in all those situations which justify force."

It is a question where the present Argentine government will strike when it decides to summon the people to unite behind their unpopular generals for the defense of the country. Argentina calls 30,000 young men to the colors every year for compulsory military training. The last two classes have been taught to hate both Brazil and the United States. When taken to the rifle ranges, they are told by the sergeants to imagine they are aiming at a damned Yank or a Brazilian *macaco*, a slang word for monkey which the Argentines apply to Brazilians with all the venom of a curse.

The Argentine government is using its belated break with the Axis as an excuse for suppressing all the constitutional rights of the people. Radio stations are under strict government control and are forced to interrupt their programs at all hours to broadcast government propaganda. They are forbidden to retransmit British and United States short-wave programs beamed at South America "until they have been edited in accordance with Argentine laws." This editing usually consists of eliminating anything offensive to the Axis powers. Movie theaters must show at least one government

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

propaganda film at each show. Newspapers are told what they may and may not print. Telephone lines are tapped. A large corps of secret political police, organized under the personal direction of members of Hitler's Gestapo, reports on conversations overheard in bars and tea-rooms. The great daily *La Prensa* was closed for five days for criticizing a stringent economy policy in the hospitals. The two Nazi-subsidized newspapers are kept in newsprint from supplies allotted to the government for its *Boletin Oficial*. American news reels of the war are closely censored, but two downtown theaters showing German propaganda films remain unmolested.

While we are fighting for democracy, that way of life is taking a brutal beating in South America.

Advance Australia—Where?

BY BRIAN PENTON

AUSTRALIANS sing a national anthem bravely entitled "Advance Australia Fair." Their prospects in a tormented world suggest that "Advance Australia—Where?" might be a more appropriate slogan.

Seven million whites inherit a continent, about the size of the United States, at the strategic crossroads between East and West. To survive, Australia must become the catalyst of Asiatic, American, and British Imperial interests, many of them sharply conflicting. A thousand million Asiatics live at its back door in ghastly poverty. Two of the most numerous peoples—the Chinese and the inhabitants of India—are about to emerge as at least potentially great powers. This writes a question mark over the pattern of the whole world, but it makes especially doubtful the future of the Pacific and of underpopulated and isolated Australia.

Australia has grown up in isolation. Distance, plus a strong British navy, guaranteed that isolation. Behind these barriers Australia was able to legislate a high standard of living for its people. As far as statistics can give the picture, the following figures on real income—compiled by Colin Clark, Queensland government statistician, formerly lecturer in statistics at Cambridge—reveal how Australian standards compared with others in 1938 (the units are an abstraction based on the purchasing power of an American dollar in the decade 1925-34):

U. S. A.	1,381	Denmark	680
Canada	1,337	Germany	646
New Zealand	1,202	Belgium	600
Great Britain	1,069	Czechoslovakia	455
Switzerland	1,018	Japan	353
Australia	980	Italy	343
Netherlands	855	U. S. S. R.	320
Eire	707	South Africa	276
France	684	Lithuania	207

The outstanding fact demonstrated here is that in 150 years of history Australia had been able to provide its people with a standard of living exceeded by only five nations. This standard is immeasurably above that of the 50 per cent of the world's population which lives just to the north. The great question now is whether the conditions which enabled it to do this will continue after the war. That question makes the hair rise on the heads of thoughtful Australians.

The war has partly answered it. Singapore, stronghold of the mighty British navy, fell a few weeks after the first Japanese landed in Malaya. Why? Because the British selfishly abandoned it, along with other possessions on the periphery of their Empire, to be recovered, as one statesman said, "in the subsequent negotiations"? Some Australians thought so, and they were bitter. But the fact was much more distressing. To be abandoned through indifference is one thing; to be abandoned because one's guardians are utterly incapable of carrying out their defensive commitments is quite another.

The Empire was not an effective military unit in modern war. That was the plain truth. Any war was a world war now, and in a world war Britain was so closely beset from the Continent, its exposed supply lines were so vulnerable, that it just could not afford to scatter its forces across a global Commonwealth.

So what of the future? What of the "White Australia" policy—a policy of race differentiation dictated by fear of cheap colored labor, which every educated Asiatic must resent? What of the tariff, which more than any other factor made possible the high industrialization on which Australia's standard of living rested? When the Japanese were fanning out across the Pacific, the Australian Prime Minister said: "The Australian government regards the Pacific struggle as primarily one in which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the direction of the democracies' fighting plan. Without any inhibition of any kind I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links of kinship with the United Kingdom."

That simple statement caused an illogical flutter and much unwarranted indignation among the editorial writers of Britain. Perhaps it was the word "pangs" which got them. But Mr. Curtin was throwing down no gauntlet. He did not mean that Australia was "cutting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the painter" and henceforth would consider itself the protégé of the United States. He meant that in accord with geographic realities Australia looked to America for material and strategic aid on their common sea, without any fear that this would injure its traditional ties, etc., etc. But it was true, though he did not say it, that the traditional links between Australia and the Empire had undergone a subtle change. This change would be simply defined, when the air was less heavily charged, as Australia's discovery that it belonged not in the European orbit of Great Britain but in the Asiatic orbit of the Pacific.

This discovery was a blow, but it was softened by a second discovery made at the same time—that practically close at hand, where the determining realities of his life lay, the Australian had a close blood and lingual relation in the American. The discovery may seem a bit belated, since Australians had been absorbing American culture for years through books, movies, and a two-way traffic in tourists. But here was something deeper than mere imitation. A theoretical commonalty of aims and ideas and—what detached analysis would no doubt later prove even more important—a vital interdependence were demonstrated in dramatic action. If Australia had merely been "rescued" by Americans, the lesson would have had no point. It would have left the long, dark future in pawn to quixotry. But the Americans had come not merely to rescue Australia; they had come also to save themselves. Whether or not Australia was going to be the base for a counter-offensive, whether it was the best springboard for an attack on Japan, was a debatable point: expert military opinion seemed early in the piece to decide it was not. But that tactical decision could not alter the grand strategic truth that America's future in the Pacific—even after it dictated terms to Tokyo—would depend on maintaining in Australia the rule of a friendly, white people. It seemed improbable that Britain would ever wish, or be able, to recover its ante bellum Pacific status. America must. Geography tied it to that area. The vast unexploited markets of Asia, the vast military threat of Asia, the political development of Asia were its intimate concern.

On the strategic map Australia loomed very large—not merely for today, not most significantly for today, but for long and uncertain tomorrows. Australians drew comfort from this to replace the lost sense of security they once derived from reflecting that Britain must protect them because it must protect its possessions in China, Malaya, and India. Now they knew, or believed they knew, that America must continue to cooperate in the defense of Australia because to remain a Pacific power it must maintain a Pacific axis in order to restrain Asiatic infiltration across the encircling net of Pacific islands.

Only one doubt—no bigger than a man's fist—remained. Would this axis be a defensive or an offensive axis? The Australian would not feel easy if it were to be used as a gun at Asia's head, to create the conditions required to exploit the Asiatic mainland in the good old colonial way. Despite fair, vague words to the contrary, that did not seem at all unlikely. There was an Atlantic but so far no Pacific Charter. Reticence on this point was understandable to anyone who had the remotest idea what, in simplest economic terms, the under-privilege of Asia's thousand million souls meant. Any day in the streets of Peiping, Hangkow, or Canton you could see a man squatting beside a piece of sacking on which he displayed for sale a battered can and a rusty nail or two. He was the ironmonger of the multitudinous poor in a country so short of cheap manufactures, so devitalized in purchasing power, that nothing was without economic value. Well might Occidental hypocrisy balk at translating the four freedoms into Chinese. Yet it was doubtful whether they could have meaning in any language unless that were done. Freedom from want and freedom from fear in the Pacific mean the industrialization of Asia.

"But of course," you say. "And America has the capital for the job."

Quite. But for what end? To raise the standards of the backward peoples or to increase American dividends? The two are not, up to a point, incompatible perhaps, and exploitation is not always so ugly as it sounds. Even an imperialistic capitalism which set out to find a use for its surplus money by financing the industrialization of Asia could not help enriching the country with roads, railways, power stations, and factories. It might try to maintain possession of these assets by promoting venal government and political disruption and by holding over China's head the threat of military action from encircling bases, but in the long run the Chinese people would inevitably seize what their own labor and resources had created.

There was the rub. The Chinese people, all the people of Asia, no longer backward, no longer unequipped for large-scale modern war, would eventually rise against those who tried to control and exploit them in the imperial way. When this rising occurred, Australia would provide the main field of battle. One could not contemplate the outcome of such a clash between East and West, between the insurgent East and the declining West, with any optimism.

So the great question remains? Advance Australia—Where? The United States has the clue to the mystery. It is concealed in its yet unformulated Asiatic and Pacific policies. Will it see its long-term profit in the raising of Asiatic standards; or will it go into Asia to grab short-term profits and let the devil take the hindmost. Look at the map and you will see that geography has located Australia in that unenviably exposed position.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Supreme Court's New Moot Suit

BY DWIGHT MACDONALD

A FEW weeks ago the United States Supreme Court provided the colored people of America with a new-model moot suit, complete with legalistic reat pleats, stuff cuffs, and all the rest. The court dreamed up this bit of judicial tailoring, which has caused seasoned civil-liberties lawyers to gasp slightly, in order to dodge the Lynn case, the only court challenge of military jimcrow that has yet been made. By declaring the Lynn case "moot," on grounds we shall presently examine, the court hopes to avoid having to decide it one way or the other.

I described the early stages of the Lynn case in an article in *The Nation* of February 20, 1943. It all began two years ago when Lynn, a young Negro landscape gardner, was notified by Local Board 261 of Jamaica, Long Island, that he had been classified 1-A. He replied by letter: "Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction."

Local Board 261 took no official notice of this letter and ordered Lynn to report for induction in the fall of 1942. When he refused, he was arrested and indicted for draft evasion. His brother, Conrad Lynn, a lawyer, applied for his release on a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that his selection in an all-Negro quota violated Section 4(a) of the 1940 Draft Act, which states: "In the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color." The Lynn brothers found that no judge would even hear their case so long as Winfred resisted induction. He must come into court "with clean hands." Therefore he accepted induction and entered the army in December, 1942. The Federal District Court in New York then heard the case and ruled against Lynn. Not long afterward, Conrad Lynn himself was drafted, and the case was turned over to Arthur Garfield Hays and his associate, Gerald Weatherly, acting for the American Civil Liberties Union.

On December 8, 1943, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York heard the case, and on February 2, 1944, it also ruled against Lynn. It was a split decision, however, Judges Swan and Augustus N. Hand in the majority, and Judge Clark in the minority. To the government's claim that Congress did not intend to abolish racial segregation in selection when it passed Section 4(a), Judge Clark replied: "I find it is difficult to think of more apt language to express the Congressional intent; the suggestion that Congress should have said something more, or amended the statute, means in effect that it should be watchful to see how a statute is violated and then expressly negative such violation or be assumed to sanction it." Mr. Hays at once appealed the decision to the Supreme Court.

Lawyers generally feel they have a good chance of getting the Supreme Court to review a case if they can get a split decision in the Circuit Court. But the Lynn case is not just another lawsuit. It is full of political dynamite. It was not too surprising, therefore, when the Supreme Court on May 29 last announced it would not review the Lynn case. (This technique of evasion was also used in the Minneapolis Trotskyists' case. By simply refusing to review, the court is able to allow reactionary decisions to stand without compromising its reputation for liberalism.) What *was* surprising was the reason the court gave for refusing to hear the case: "The petition for writ of certiorari in this case is denied on the ground that the cause is moot, it appearing that petitioner no longer is in respondent's custody, U. S. ex rel. *Innes* v. *Crystal*, 319 U. S. 755, and cases cited."

A case becomes "moot" when it has changed in such a way that it can no longer be decided one way or the other. When Lynn originally brought his suit, he was in the "custody" of Colonel Downer, commandant at Camp Upton, New York. Hence Coloned Downer is named as the "respondent" who is asked to produce the "body" of Winfred Lynn. Since then, Lynn has completed his training and is now serving overseas in the Pacific area. Hence he is no longer in the custody of the "respondent" and the case is moot. Even had he remained at Upton, the case would still be moot, by this reasoning, for Colonel Downer himself has now been retired from the army because of age.

The court's line of reasoning is even more fantastic than it appears at first glance. To note a few salient points:

1. When Lynn originally brought his suit, the courts told him he must enter the army in order to get a hearing. He did so and as a result soon passed out of the custody of the original "respondent." Because he obeyed the orders of one branch of the government,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he is now told by another branch that he has lost the right to have his case decided.

2. At the time Lynn was ordered overseas, Mr. Weatherly protested to the Adjutant General and received the following reply, dated February 9, 1944: "Should the unit to which he is assigned be ordered to proceed outside the continental United States and he is qualified for the duties to which assigned, he will not be removed from his unit. . . . (*Signed*) J. A. Ulio, Major General."

3. If the court had had any interest in seeing the case decided, it could have simply ordered Lynn's present commanding officer substituted for Colonel Downer as respondent. Rule 21 of the federal Rules of Procedure provides: "Parties may be dropped or added by order of the court on motion of any party or of its own initiative at any stage of the action. . . ." And Rule 81(a)(2) makes this specifically applicable to habeas corpus proceedings.

4. Habeas corpus is the only part of civil law that still applies to persons serving in the armed forces. If the military authorities can escape its control simply by passing the "body" from one colonel to another, it is in effect nullified in the military sphere.

5. Most of the cases cited by the court to justify its ruling are cases in which a civilian prisoner has been pardoned or freed on parole subsequent to his bringing the habeas corpus action. Such cases are obviously not comparable to the Lynn case. The only case cited which seems at all similar is *Innes* v. *Crystal.* Yet even here the soldier involved at least had passed from the custody of the army to that of the Leavenworth penitentiary. Lynn is today in the custody of the army, as he was originally.

6. That the Lynn case might be sidetracked as "moot" seems to have been a last-minute inspiration of Solicitor General Charles Fahy, who is famous among lawyers for such brilliant tours de force of legal technique. The government lawyers did not raise the issue of mootness in the lower courts, although by the time the case got to the Circuit Court of Appeals Lynn had been out of the custody of the original respondent for almost a year. The showdown will come this fall when Arthur Garfield Hays's appeal to the court to reconsider its refusal to review the case will be finally determined.

The Workers' Defense League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the March on Washington Movement plan to file supporting briefs *amicus curiae,* and the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces is planning a publicity campaign. Unless public opinion causes the court to reverse itself, the chances of getting a legal test—let along winning it—of the anti-discrimination section of the 1940 Draft Act will henceforth be slight, and jimcrow in uniform will be more strongly intrenched than ever.

In the Wind

WESTBROOK PEGLER, IN HIS COLUMN of June 20, revealed the long-distance telephone records of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, which have been subpoenaed by the Dies committee and which, Mr. Pegler implies, indicate the close relationship existing between the committee and the White House and various official agencies in Washington. What Mr. Pegler did not reveal is that the Dies committee secured the documents from American Tel. & Tel., unbeknownst to the Political Action Committee, that Mr. Dies has never introduced them into the public record, and that they are now in the hands of the *World-Telegram's* distinguished columnist. The subpoena power of the House of Representatives, it seems, has become the property of Westbrook Pegler.

IN WASHINGTON, *THE NEGRO DIGEST* reports, the white-looking official Latin American guests are quartered by the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations in Blair House, the official government guest house. The darker Latin gentlemen are referred to Howard University.

RUMOR FROM ACROSS THE OCEAN: Mr. Churchill has informed his intimates that the British Cabinet has finally taken a decision, to be announced after the war, with respect to the future of Palestine, and it will be favorable to Zionist hopes.

TEAMWORK: JUNE 18, EARL BROWDER, in the *Daily Worker*: ". . . our problem . . . is to develop peace-time markets, under our capitalist system, equal to the war market in volume and effectiveness. . . . If this foreign market is properly organized, the goods we sell to them will make them wealthy and prosperous, so that they will soon be able to pay, with handsome profits for American capitalists. JUNE 19, ERIC JOHNSTON, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, to a press conference in Moscow: The Soviet Union wants to buy "many billions of dollars' worth of American goods on purchase terms mutually advantageous to the two countries involved."

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN of the railroad brotherhoods, *Labor,* says that "Montgomery Ward's sales tobogganed $19,000,000 in the first months of 1944, while in the same period the business of Sears, Roebuck and Company, which has not fought labor, zoomed by $32,000,000.

FESTUNG EUROPA: According to information recently received in Washington, the Czechs in Prague are being punished by the Nazis for merely talking loudly on the streets "or smiling." . . . A Belgian resistance group has succeeded in hoodwinking the German censor by posting leaflets in envelopes filched from the German Labor Office.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Maquis's Plan for France

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Algiers, June 3

I HAVE before me a batch of underground newspapers from France, the most recent being three issues of *Le Franc-Tireur*. This paper, 150,000 copies of which are printed monthly "in spite of the Gestapo and the Militia," is already quite candid about what it "expects from Algiers." "Too many of our companions have fallen," it says in one place. "We do not want medals for their widows but lead for their assassins.* ... Is it foreign pressure that has retarded and is still holding up the action of justice?"

The resistance movement evidently keeps a close watch on the political scene here, and it is quite frequently critical. *Le Franc-Tireur*, for instance, writes: "That is why, like the other twenty or so clandestine newspapers which are saving the honor of the French press, we are not too surprised at the timorous and kindly measures taken by the *Commissariat à l'Information* in Algiers against the North African papers, which continue to appear after having served the enemy. . . . No one would like to believe that our friends in Algiers are contemplating a procedure for France which only the confusion of the first few months could explain in North Africa." This criticism suggests a possible conflict in liberated France between the active leaders of the underground and those sincere liberals, like M. Henri Bonnet, Commissioner of Information, who have been spared the struggle against internal treason and Nazi occupation. The former will demand that *L'Oeuvre, Le Matin, Le Petit Parisien, Le Nouvelliste, Le Petit Dauphinois,* and all the other papers which have followed the orders of Berlin or Vichy be ruthlessly eliminated on the day of liberation. The liberals here, on the other hand, shrink from measures likely to menace in any way the fundamental freedom of the press.

The underground press makes it clear that the resistance movement is not too busy sabotaging communications and printing newspapers in cellars to think of larger matters. "The temporary government," says *Le Franc-Tireur*, "to fulfil the unanimous wish of the people, must take revolutionary measures as soon as the country is liberated. These measures will not frighten our real friends. Others had best remind themselves that the attempt to maintain a status quo profitable to any special interests would provoke reactions which we would support with all our strength." In its February issue *La Revue Libre* competently and dispassionately tackled the thorny problem of the nationalization of vital industries, drawing valuable conclusions from such past experiences as the nationalization of the French railways in 1938.

*This refers, no doubt, to men like Peyrouton, Tixier-Vignancourt, Bergeret, and others now in North Africa.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION

But the most interesting document of all, I think, is the "Program of Action" of the National Resistance Council in France, which is quoted at some length in the April issue of *Le Franc-Tireur*. Its purpose is summed up in a short preamble, which says: "This combat mission [that of the resistance movement] must not come to an end with the liberation. . . . Therefore the representatives of the resistance organizations, of the trade unions, and of the political parties, making up the National Resistance Council, deliberating in plenary session on March 15, 1944, have decided to unite on the following program. It includes a plan of immediate action against the oppressor and measures designed to establish, when the country is liberated, a more just social order." The "plan of immediate action" contains the following specific provisions:

1. In order to assure better coordination, particularly between the military effort and that of the nation at large, the National Resistance Council will undertake to organize local resistance committees in cities, towns, villages, and factories to supplement the already existing departmental committees.
2. Auxiliary militias led by engineers, teachers, civil servants, and reserve army officers will be created to protect the French people from terrorism and to assure good discipline.

But the bulk of the document is devoted to measures proposed to achieve "the greater task of reconstruction." Among these are the following:

1. General de Gaulle's Provisional Government is temporarily to assume the administration of territorial France in order to defend the nation's political and economic independence.
2. Traitors are to be punished, and the governmental machinery is to be purged; the property of traitors and black-market operators is to be confiscated.
3. A wider democracy, based on universal suffrage, will guarantee (a) freedom of thought, conscience, and expression; (b) the freedom of an honorable and independent press; (c) freedom of association, assembly, and demonstration; (d) the inviolability of the home and of correspondence; (e) the respect of the person; (f) the absolute equality of all citizens before the law.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4. Reforms are to be carried out along these lines:

(a) Economic: True economic and social democracy implies popular control of the national economy and the subordination of private to public interests. Therefore monopolies, the exploitation of natural resources, insurance companies, and large banks must be returned to the nation. Elsewhere worker participation in management will be assured.

(b) Social: Improved labor laws will guarantee the right to work and the right to rest. The workers' buying power will be protected by wage control and a stabilized currency. Unionization will be on a larger scale. The conditions of agricultural workers will be improved. Social security and educational opportunities will be expanded. Wider political, social, and economic rights will be extended to native populations.

This program is offered as a rallying-point for all Frenchmen who are behind General de Gaulle and the Committee of Liberation. At the same time the Committee is asked to take note of the program's aims, and it cannot be denied, I think, that it is doing so. Despite local obstructionists and the poorer elements in its own composition, the Committee, and of course the Consultative Assembly as well, is clearly taking its obligations toward France very seriously.

LIAISON BETWEEN ALGIERS AND FRANCE

Obviously, the Committee's most important task has been to maintain a close liaison with France in order to reflect as closely as possible the will of the people. This has not been easy. Communications with an occupied country are hazardous at best, but Algiers has encountered an additional difficulty. London is an essential link in the liaison between Algiers and metropolitan France, and the suspension of private diplomatic correspondence with London has virtually cut Algiers off from the underground. It is felt here that this drastic measure can only reduce France's effective participation in the war.

In addition to maintaining liaison, the Committee has tried to obtain material support for the underground. Although French troops have contributed notably to the victories of the Fifth Army in Italy, many people believe that the country's greatest contribution will still be made on what is known as the *front de l'intérieur*. They point with pride to the substantial accomplishments of the *Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur* (F. F. I.).

Many Frenchmen here insist that the damage which the underground is capable of doing is greater than that resulting from aerial bombardments and is infinitely less wasteful materially and in human life. They say that at Creusot, for example, more stoppage has been caused by sabotage than by bombing, although the bombings have cost several hundred lives. But if the operations of the underground are to be effective on a large scale, arms, explosives, and money must be got to the men of the *maquis* in still greater quantities. For this, France must rely on British and American assistance.

The government in Algiers, in response to the urgency of the problem, has created a *Comité d'Action* to supplement and coordinate the existing agencies dealing with the resistance movement. And on May 30 the Committee announced that it had fixed by law the status of the F. F. I. This law has not yet been made public, but if the combatant status of the men of the *maquis* is established, it will be a great asset to the resistance.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The Committee of Liberation, like the National Resistance Council, is concerned with the problems of reconstruction. Jules Moch has already analyzed the most important of these in the pages of *The Nation*. Although only a National Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage (including women for the first time), will be competent to determine the future organization of France, the Committee of Liberation must undertake the immediate task of setting up a civil and military administration behind the Allied armies. Already the Committee, with the approval of the Consultative Assembly, has promulgated laws which provide the necessary administrative machinery. The law of April 21 will regulate the transfer of the Provisional Government and the Consultative Assembly to France, the convocation of temporary municipal and general councils purged of collaborationists, and the election of the Constituent Assembly. The role of the resistance movement during the transition period is defined by Article 19, which decrees that as each department is liberated, a departmental committee of liberation composed of representatives from each resistance organization, trade federation, and political party affiliated with the National Resistance Council will be formed to assist the prefect. In his address to the House of Commons on May 24 Mr. Churchill gave assurance that the administration of liberated France would be handled, under General Eisenhower's control, by the Committee of Liberation according to the terms of this decree.

GOEBBELS PLUS "READER'S DIGEST"

The failure of Britain and the United States to recognize the Committee of Liberation as the Provisional Government of the French Republic has caused great disappointment here. In France it has provided useful ammunition for German and Vichy propaganda. The men and women who are fighting the enemy both within France and outside are grimly determined not to admit any authority other than French authority. This spirit, which sometimes comes dangerously close to xenophobia, particularly when inflamed by unnecessarily wasteful bombing, can only harm Franco-American relations. And to make matters worse, our policy toward France, based on honorable, perhaps, though not very clairvoyant scruples, has used unworthy methods of justification.

No words are too strong to apply to the inspired campaign of defamation carried on against General de Gaulle

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in America. Our relations with France are poisoned—and to what end?—by articles like Kingsbury Smith's Spotlight on the State Department in the May issue of *Reader's Digest,* which charges De Gaulle with using "Gestapo" methods and with resorting to "suicides" and "brutal treatment" which "would shock the American people." The *Reader's Digest* is distributed to troops in this theater in the form of a free supplement to *Stars and Stripes* and other newspapers for the Allied forces. The impression created here by that sort of thing is painful in the extreme. Again, on May 3, 1944, the Algiers edition of *Stars and Stripes* reported that the State Department had refused to recognize the Committee of Liberation because of General de Gaulle's "dictatorial" tendencies. M. Hauriou, a delegate from the resistance movement in France, called the attention of the Consultative Assembly to this article, declaring: "We protest against this opinion. We wish to recall that the organizations of the resistance movement recognized General de Gaulle as leader only when he affirmed his determination to reestablish the Republic." As for the almost pathological pleasure which some American writers—Westbrook Pegler is one of them—seem to derive from burying France for good, nothing need be said, except, in the words of Talleyrand, *"Tout ce qui est excessif ne compte pas."*

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON THE very eve of the invasion and even after it had started, the Nazi leaders were still keeping up their own and the people's spirits with their grandiose plans for the future. Each one of the gentlemen, it is well known, has his special hobby, and he has continued to ride it right through these critical days.

Herr Goebbels's love is the movies, and as head of the Reich Film Bureau he acts as their guardian. So in recent weeks he has been securing the future of the movies. Picture theaters are crowded today and box-office receipts incomparably higher than in peace time. In consequence the fees paid by the theaters to the producers on a percentage basis are running into enormous sums. Here, Herr Goebbels saw an opportunity to lay his hands on a few million marks. He issued a decree taking away this increased income from the producers. Hereafter they are to be paid only the amount they received in 1939. Everything above that is to go into a fund administered by the Reich Film Bureau. This fund will be used for great and far-reaching purposes—"to finance the reconstruction or restoration of theaters in Germany after the war, and particularly the erection of theaters in the newly acquired territories of the Reich."

Herr Himmler has a different hobby: instead of concerning himself with future theaters in the conquered provinces, he wishes to be sure that there will be future soldiers. Four weeks ago this column referred to the campaign for an increase in births suddenly launched by his organ, the *Schwarze Korps,* and quoted this arresting sentence: "Even if the present war is lost, tomorrow's war can be won by the children of today's soldiers." Since then the campaign has been pushed with vigor. In the issue of June 6—the day of the invasion—women were taken to task for considering themselves too old to have more children.

> No woman is too old to bear children. What a fundamental mistake! What a deviation from natural thinking! How could a woman ever be too old to be a mother as long as nature finds her young enough? Experience teaches us that older women who in their youth have given birth to one or more children find delivery very easy. It may happen occasionally, though certainly not as a rule, that older women have difficulty when giving birth for the first time; if so they are no different from younger women. But even this difficulty does not exist to the extent that widespread superstition would indicate. A woman who fails to fulfil her destiny will be treated far more harshly by nature than those who live in accordance with natural laws.

It is a merit of the "National Socialist reshaping of thinking," Himmler's paper declared, that these questions can now be discussed openly. Before Hitler they were taboo—but not in the usual sense. "What was taboo was their political implications. Today we can publicly discuss these questions as a political problem of the first magnitude, closely linked with the great problems of war and peace."

With Goebbels and Himmler making such farsighted plans for the post-war period, Hitler himself could not be found lacking. Knowing his passion for building, we are not surprised to learn from a story in the St. Gall *Tagblatt* of May 30 that a staff of 150 architects under his personal direction is occupied with plans for the "Berlin of the future."

> As might be expected, Berlin is to be built completely anew. It cannot be "mended." Patchwork would only make it grotesque and ugly; enough has been destroyed or damaged to justify the idea of creating something entirely new. . . . The problems involved are of course gigantic. How can the rubbish be removed, and where to? Where will the freight cars and the barges and the machines be found? Where will people live during the reconstruction of the city? Or will the new Berlin be erected on some other site? These questions cannot be answered for the moment. Only one thing is certain: the new Berlin will be a city of ten million people, the largest and most beautiful city of the Continent.

The Swiss reporter then added drily, "Of course these plans can be carried out only if the Germans win the war."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Nodier After a Century

BY PAUL ROSENFELD

LONDON newspapers sometime in 1819 reported that Napoleon at Longwood recently had spent a night reading and annotating a French novel. This was "Jean Sbogar," the depiction in a romantic plot of the character of a sublime Illyrian bandit. It had been issued at Paris the year before. An English version appeared the following year; and two years after, an American one—"improved" by the interpolation of original pieces by the translator, Peter Irving, Washington Irving's brother. The author was Charles Nodier, subsequently famous as the link between French classicism and romanticism, who in the present year, the centenary of his death, must be the subject of commemorations wherever literature remains in honor and the love of French literature persists.

The truthfulness of the report about Napoleon and the novel was afterward impugned. The story was called a clever inspiration of the publisher's. Yet if indeed it was a lie, it was an artistic one. "Jean Sbogar" introduced readers of fiction to a new cause of action which might readily have interested the imperial *Realpolitiker,* the former ally of Babœuf. This new cause of action naturally was not a sublime motive for banditry, a passion for justice, say, leading to banditry. Noble banditti long since had become familiar figures in novels, dramas, narrative verse. Their line led back to Lope de Vega: Schiller merely had sensationally continued it in "The Brigands," Byron more recently in "The Corsair," Scott very lately in "Rob Roy." All these figures rose from the timeless conflict between law and liberty; the more recent from the interior conflicts of individualism, from the division and resentments in middle-class youth in a feudal society, tragic in the sensitive individual requiring freedom for work toward his goals. The crimes of which Schiller's Karl Moor boasts are significantly the slaughter of an absolute Count, that of a minister who had wormed himself into favor and risen "through the ruin of his neighbor and the tears of orphans," and of a financial counselor who "sold honors and posts to the fortunate and turned sorrowing patriots from his door"; the firing of a Dominican church "in a city of bigots"; and the assassination of a priest "who from the chancel mourned the Inquisition's decay." A picture of banditry—what it comes to is revolt—inspired by individualism, even the noblest kind, could therefore doubtfully have been of interest to Napoleon; nor was the cause of action introduced into fiction by "Jean Sbogar" individualistic.

It was social. In Venetian society of the opening nineteenth century, the fiction begins, there figured a handsome man of mystery. Actually he was the Illyrian brigand, Jean Sbogar, but the fact was unsuspected, and a young patrician, Antonia, fell in love with him. One day he dropped his notebook, which, most prophetically, was "bound in Russian leather." Peering into it, Antonia read this aphorism among others similarly colored: "The robbery of the rich by the poor . . . in the last analysis is nothing save a reparation, a just and reciprocal displacement of a piece of bread or money, returning from the hand of a robber into that of the robbed." Was Nodier's outlaw echoing Babœuf? We do not know. This however is plain: under romantic decorations Nodier here introduced to readers of fiction the idea of the social revolutionary in the epoch propelled by Napoleon; the source of his passion. Since the novelist endowed his brigand with chivalry, magnanimity, a sharp ethical sense, the introduction was ceremonious and serious. "Jean Sbogar" thus was the first socialist novel, by which name we signify a fiction honoring the social motive of revolt. In its wake streamed all the novels expressing popular sympathy, making for social justice—from those of the 1840's by Sue, Sand, Gogol, Dickens, through those by Balzac, Zola, Tolstoi, to grandiose records of the social struggle like "Pellé the Conqueror."

A real outlaw, who had revolted against Napoleon, had been captured and brought to trial in Laybach in Illyria in 1813 while Nodier was serving there as imperial librarian, and Nodier visited the man in prison. From his impressions and other elements—among them certainly was a memory of "The Brigands," which Nodier had devoured with other romantic German literature during youth in Strasbourg—he had "formed a new individual and bidden him 'Be!' " The feat was characteristic of Nodier.

He was indeed a creator in the Greek sense; consistently the inventor of the new in point of material or method; continually "forming new individualities from out a mass of scattered elements." In 1803, almost at the beginning of his career, he had produced a new method of fiction, the journalary form of the novel. He used it to present the type of the psychological solitary: so also have Hugo, Turgenev, Chekhov, Rilke, Bernanos, and almost all of the novelists who have followed him in using it. After "Jean Sbogar," in 1839, he revealed yet another important new material for fiction in his exquisite "Novena of Candlemas." This is the stuff of the pastoral novel—which is not to be confused with idyls like "The Vicar of Wakefield" or naturalistic and objective studies of peasants and provincial people. The content of the pastoral novel is the lyrical expression of the very peasant or provincial spirit. The country fictions of George Sand probably constitute the classic French representatives of the type; the characteristic fictions of the Swiss C. F. Ramuz and Jean Giono, and stories of Sherwood Anderson's like "I'm a Fool," its chief contemporary ones. Yet another of Nodier's volumes, the humorous and fantastic "Castles of the King of Bohemia," anticipated a modern mold of poetry's. The book features expressive contrasts and dispositions of typography creating a sort of supplemental poetry; on one of its pages an arrangement of words in lines evoking an image identical with the one formed by the words' meanings. Rabelais and George Herbert had made experiments of the sort: Nodier's, however, far surpass theirs

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in wit. The anticipated modern poetic mold of course is the typographic poem of Mallarmé, Guillaume Apollinaire, and E. E. Cummings—that encroachment of poetry on the domain of the sensuous arts.

There are still other instances of his invention of means and materials. Innovation in art, indeed, appeared to Nodier "the seal of genius": in particular, those "irresistible innovations which obediently conform to the progress of social intelligence" and "proceed like naive emanations from the practical inventions of civilization." "Such is the genius of societies," argued he, "that no fundamental change can occur in their antique organizations unless an analogous movement operate in their means of speech." And it is precisely this brilliant inventiveness of his and his steady defense of innovation that are responsible for the elevation of the tone in which we commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of his death over the one in which his contemporaries commemorated the actual event. Not that Nodier's personality and work were not much remarked on, much admired and praised, when he died. Long before, his apartment in the Arsenal in Paris had become "the little Tuileries," where not the fashionable but the literary world foregathered. There the young romantic school had grown conscious of itself under his paternal eye. But his innovations amused his contemporaries a little more than they impressed them. Sainte-Beuve, in the course of his famous, affectionate portrait of Nodier, a trifle patronizingly called him a *littérateur*. A *littérateur* of course is "an author without a specialty—whose talent, works, literary life resemble an army containing all banners, everything, indeed, save general headquarters."

Now, we do not deny that Nodier was a "polygrapher." Besides novels, he composed, in almost passionate excitement, poetry, criticism, and history; and was a philologist to boot, a bibliographer, and a student of botany and of butterflies, "whose brilliant hues he would seem to have transferred to his style." Neither do we in the least deny that Nodier excelled in nothing. His style, which was modest, sensitive, and charming, did want power.

It merely is that, looking back over the past century, we can perceive the startling results of the new methods and materials which amused his contemporaries; and moreover possess general reasons for seeing in all such inventions "the seal of genius"—reasons still other than those with which Nodier himself supplied us. One is the feeling that ultimately it is in forming new phenomena that art meets the many spiritual demands of society. For each vibration of the spirit has an appropriate form, and there always are new vibrations. Another is the feeling that we encounter the human spirit more purely, profoundly, thrillingly in what is fire-new and unprecedented than in what is influenced, imitative, and traditional. "Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny!" We even suspect that without innovation there might not exist the possibility of tradition. To put ourselves in the way of understanding past men, it seems we must ourselves perform deeds in some way paralleling theirs: one can, it seems, understand only what in some fashion one is capable of accomplishing. And the past certainly generated the new. Hence, facing the fertile Nodier, we feel nothing save admiration, and revere his memory.

LEWIS MUMFORD

"For many years Lewis Mumford has been concerned with Man. His CULTURE OF CITIES and TECHNICS AND CIVILIZATION were fruits of this concern.... Now comes the book into which Mumford has put everything he has thought and learned about Man yesterday, today and—because there is a good deal of the prophet in Mumford—tomorrow.... If there has been written for the comprehension of the general reader a more significant statement of our condition—what it has been, what it is and what it may be—I don't know where you'll find it." —*Joseph Henry Jackson, San Francisco Chronicle*

"THE CONDITION OF MAN is big but not ponderous, informed and documented but not pedantic, scholarly but written in such simple and lucid style that any reader will follow it with a continued absorption of interest."
—*Cleveland Plain Dealer*

"No review can pass over to the reader a just idea of the breadth and depth of THE CONDITION OF MAN. Ranging confidently through history, from St. Augustine, Loyola, Voltaire, and Rousseau, on to Karl Marx, Nietzsche and Freud, Mumford assesses the thinking of the successive generations of modern men. He continues to prove himself a thinker unafraid of serious affirmations and bold syntheses in a day when specialists are content to dissect their fragmentations of knowledge and experience."
—*Dallas News*

16 pages of illustrations, $5.00

THE CONDITION OF MAN

HARCOURT, BRACE & COMPANY
383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Franklin

MEET DR. FRANKLIN. By Carl Van Doren and Eleven Others. The Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.

"MEET DR. FRANKLIN" is not an introduction: the authors take it wisely for granted that we have met him before. "How are you today, Dr. Franklin?" would have been a more accurate title, for this is a series of reports on the present state of Franklin scholarship. The tone is informal: lectures before an intelligent general public. The substance is learned. Dr. Carl R. Woodward, for instance, establishes very conclusively that Franklin's famous experimental farm never existed; the letter describing it, and printed in Franklin's works, was written by somebody else. The no less famous experiment with plaster-of-Paris may be a legend diffused by the great French chemist Chaptal. Franklin would have been an epoch-making printer, says Lawrence C. Wroth, if he had come round to it, but he retired from the business before reaching that stage. He would have been a great friend of the Indians if he had had a chance. At any rate, he proposed hunting them with dogs, and was a colonel in command of an expedition against them. He may have got his idea of federation, the seed of our mighty republic, from the Iroquois (Julian P. Boyd). But, says Dr. Robert A. Millikan, he did fly the immortal kite, and thus "wrested from the heavens their thunder and their scepter from the tyrants." I am glad scholarship spared that kite: I am getting too old to unlearn.

Because the book presupposes that we know Dr. Franklin, it does not suffer from the usual curse of collective works —fragmentariness. The pieces are disjointed; but they all fit into the picture which we all have in our minds. Some of the essays raise very general and very interesting questions. Carl Van Doren, the foremost authority on Franklin lore—Bernard Fay is morally dead—insists on the fundamental Americanism of Franklin: a truism so true that it can never become trite, in the way of old paradoxes and half-truths. But Conyers Read shows that Franklin was perfectly happy and thoroughly at home in England. Unfortunately, no essay is devoted to his sojourn in Paris, which Gilbert Chinard could have done so well: there again Franklin was a universal favorite and enjoyed life immensely. The meeting between Franklin and Voltaire is one of the richest scenes in cultural history: so full of grandeur and pathos, fraught with the destinies of our world, yet with delightful depths of irony. Conclusion, dedicated to Representative Martin Dies: the most American of us all is the most cosmopolitan.

Bernard Knollenberg establishes that Franklin was a "philosophical revolutionist"—cautious, shrewd, temperate, but not a conservative. He constantly challenged the status quo: "Is this logical? Does it hold water?" In other words, Daughters of the Revolution, there was such a thing as the American Revolution, and it was a radical one. We, and the European revolutionists, are the heirs to its spirit; even to the point of repeating after Franklin: "Private property, therefore, is a creature of society, and is subject to the call of that society whenever its necessities shall require, even to its last farthing."

The key to the paradox that Franklin was at the same time Americanism incarnate and also an excellent Englishman, and most of all a perfect Parisian, is that he was "first of all a typical eighteenth-century figure, and moved easily and naturally in an eighteenth-century world." There was an eighteenth-century world; the *period* is far more real than the *country*. In those days there was a great republic of free souls; its name was the Enlightenment; England, America, and France were among its chief provinces. That is why Crèvecœur, Lafayette, and Du Pont de Nemours were so much at ease with us, while Jefferson and Franklin throve in France as if it had been their native soil. We have sadly declined from "the eighteenth, greatest of centuries"; but there have been renaissances in the past, after long ages of bewilderment. Benjamin Franklin, as mirrored in this pleasant and useful little book, beckons us back to a more humane civilization.

ALBERT GUERARD

Just Published —

LIFE BEGINS WITH MARRIAGE

By Theodore G. Mitchell

Author of "Formula for 100 Years' Peace"

The Supreme goal of every person is marriage. The SUPREME goal of every marriage is HAPPINESS. But happiness is the ART of making the SUPREME feelings of one another the commonwealth of the Family. You will discover this ART in this book.

At your bookseller or direct, $2.75

DEARBORN PUBLISHING COMPANY

711 South Dearborn Street Chicago 5, Illinois

The Dominions and the Empire

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: ITS PLACE IN THE SERVICE OF THE WORLD. By Sir Edward Grigg. Introduction by Lord Halifax. Liveright Publishing Corporation. $2.75.

THIS is one of those books which discuss matters of the first importance but nevertheless can hardly be taken as more than the expression of a minority point of view little likely ever to be more than that. Any other appraisal of it would unduly exaggerate its importance, for far from being a scholarly treatise it is rather a political argument on a high plane, though it may occasionally be represented otherwise for political reasons, or because of ignorance of the trends of opinion in British circles. Sir Edward Grigg, by his own statement, speaks for a section of the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom which is today tremendously concerned that the Commonwealth and Empire shall be much more tightly organized and integrated than has ever been the case in our time. Yet he is up against the indisputable fact that dominion nationalism is very strong and has been considerably intensified by the events of the present war. He is therefore at pains to protest that his schemes for imperial integration are in no particular intended to subvert the independence of the dominions. Nevertheless, it is plain as a pikestaff that Sir Edward's schemes, if ac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cepted, would severely limit the power of the dominions over their economic and trade policies and, by organizing the Empire-Commonwealth regionally, implicate them deeply in colonial affairs hitherto solely the concern of the United Kingdom, with the immediate effect of making them responsible before the world for policies which, under present conditions, they would indorse—after their formulation in London—rather than initiate or administer.

Consciously or unconsciously Sir Edward and his like-minded associates are seeking a way of bolstering up the power of the United Kingdom vis-à-vis the world by bringing the power of the dominions more directly to the service of the United Kingdom than hitherto.

Though a careless reader might never perceive it in Sir Edward's book, so parenthetically does he introduce the matter, the real reason for making this effort is the deep conviction, supported by much concrete evidence, that this war has drastically weakened the power of the United Kingdom and that new sources of power must therefore be *directly* tapped if it is to maintain its world position. Sir Edward obscures the point with much political fustian and irritating moralizing about British virtues, but others as different as Lord Halifax and Professor E. H. Carr have stated it directly. Lord Halifax said his piece at Toronto last January. Professor Carr, in his "Conditions of Peace," declared: "At the close of the war, however favorable the issue, Great Britain will have little temptation to repeat the error of supposing that victory has enhanced her military or economic power. Behind the short-lived exultation of victory her self-confidence will have received a salutary shock."

The need for dealing with the difficulties thus posed is, from the British point of view, both immensely real and immensely important, and some solution is sure eventually to be worked out. The British community has lost neither its grip on political and economic realities nor its capacity to deal with them. But that is very different from saying that Sir Edward's solutions are apt to win general acceptance. In due course we shall know the answers. The whole question was just recently debated in London by the British Prime Ministers. It is significant of the drift of opinion that whereas at Toronto Lord Halifax definitely declared himself in favor of Sir Edward's general outlook, in the Introduction to Sir Edward's own book he backtracks a bit and somewhat wistfully remarks, "It may be that the basis of our relationship with each other calls for no more than the machinery of consultation." I think that is very near the mark and that Sir Edward's attempt to raise an elaborate structure on the foundation of this perception takes him farther and farther away from reality.

The temptation to debate many of the particular statements in Sir Edward's book is extremely strong, especially his implied views of American affairs, in particular his notion, shared with Professor Carr, that we Americans, like dutiful colonials, still await a British lead in world affairs. But a final observation: books like this one, founded on a point of view definitely oriented around the needs of the United Kingdom, should be balanced by constant reference to views originating in and founded on the needs of the overseas dominions. Only thus can the Commonwealth be seen whole.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Support the Lynn Case! ***Fight Jim Crow in Uniform!***

The Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces

Needs Your Help Today to:—

—***make a national issue*** of the Supreme Court's attempt to dodge the Lynn case by a legalistic trick. The Lynn case is the only court test yet made of the anti-discrimination clause in the 1940 Draft Act. It is a concrete first step toward democratizing the Army's racial policies. The Supreme Court will rule on it finally next fall. *We need funds for a nation-wide educational campaign this summer.*

—***get tens of thousands of signatures*** to a statement opposing racial segregation in the armed forces. This is in the form of "4 Questions to Candidates" asking them to take a clear and specific stand on the issue. It will be presented in August to all presidential and Congressional candidates, and their answers will be publicized. *We need funds to give these "4 Questions" wide circulation.*

—***publish a mimeographed news-letter*** presenting in digest form the facts about race relations in the armed forces from week to week. This will be circulated among editors, radio commentators, columnists, educators, journalists and other key persons. The job is not being done now. *We need funds to collect and issue this material.*

—***fight such cases of individual injustice*** as that of the 19 colored Seabees who were discharged last fall *without a hearing* after they had complained to their commanding officer about intolerable jimcrow treatment. These men, many of them volunteers, were discharged as "unfit" and "undesirable." *We need funds to make their story known, to explore possible legal angles.*

• ***The Lynn Committee is the only organization set up specifically to fight for racial democracy in our armed forces.***

• ***Among the sponsors of the Lynn Committee are Luigi Antonini, Roger Baldwin, Algernon Black, George S. Counts, John F. Finerty, Alain Locke, Carey McWilliams, A. Philip Randolph, Willard S. Townsend, and Oswald Garrison Villard.***

The Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces, 360 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.

I WANT TO HELP. ENCLOSED IS $..... FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST JIM CROW IN UNIFORM. (Make checks payable to Nancy G. Macdonald, Treasurer)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... UNIT..... STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURES

Deanna Durbin . . . she never lived and loved like this before! Gene Kelly . . . as the man she couldn't stop loving!

•

in W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM'S

Christmas Holiday

with RICHARD WHORF • DEAN HARENS • GLADYS GEORGE • GALE SONDERGAARD • DAVID BRUCE

Produced by FELIX JACKSON

Directed by ROBERT SIODMAK. Associate Producer, Frank Shaw. As written for the screen by HERMAN J. MANKIEWICZ. A UNIVERSAL PICTURE.

Back the Invasion! BUY WAR BONDS!

LOEW'S COOL CRITERION BROADWAY & 45th STREET.

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST. — 86th ST.
58th ST. — 125th ST.
HAMILTON
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd STREET
BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCHELLE
WHITE PLAINS
YONKERS
BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
QUEENS
KEITH FLUSHING
MIDWAY
KEITH RICH. HILL
STRAND

RKO MON., TUES., WED. JULY 3, 4, 5, LIMITED ENGAGEMENT 3 DAYS ONLY!

Exactly as presented on Broadway for 19 weeks!
Winner of 5 Academy Awards

FRANZ WERFEL'S "THE SONG OF BERNADETTE"

A 20th Century Fox Triumph

Will Not Be Shown Elsewhere at Lower Prices
AFTERNOONS, ADULTS, 76c.—CHILDREN 40c., Incl. tax
EVENINGS, ADULTS, $1.10—CHILDREN 55c., Incl. tax

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Nation subscribers should give at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

The Other Germany

GERMANY: A SELF-PORTRAIT. A COLLECTION OF GERMAN WRITINGS FROM 1914 TO 1943. Edited, with an Introduction and Chronicle, by Harlan R. Crippen. Oxford University Press. $3.75.

THIS anthology consists of more than 450 pages of reading, chiefly literary, in the history of Germany since 1871. It includes in this field several documents which it is good to have reprinted—letters of Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartacus Manifesto, Thomas Mann's letter to the Dean of Bonn. Nor does the book, like Klaus Mann's "Heart of Europe," lack theme. The selected pieces are connected by editorial narrative and arranged as a continuous chronicle. The theme is that of the Other Germany which has fought against every reactionary tendency and regime from Bismarck to Hitler. At a time when not only old buffers like Vansittart but men like Stout and Clifton Fadiman are declaiming both against the Nazi regime and the German people, a book like this is a contribution to enlightenment. All who read such books as "Germany, the Aggressor Through the Ages,"

STAGE PLAYS

"HIT MUSICAL" Walter Winchell "Follow the Girls" Production Staged by HARRY DELMAR

44th St. THEA. West of Broadway AIR COND. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Presented by DAVE WOLPER (In association with AL BORDE)

THE THEATRE GUILD presents (In association with Jack H. Skirball)
JACOBOWSKY and the COLONEL
The FRANZ WERFEL – S. N. BEHRMAN COMEDY — Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN—ANNABELLA—OSCAR KARLWEIS
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
MARTIN BECK THEATRE — West 45th — AIR CONDITIONED
Evgs. at 8:30. Mats. Thurs., Sat. & JULY 4th

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
AIR CONDITIONED

"A definite hit . . . gay, glib, daffy — enormously funny." —Morehouse, Sun.
RUTH GORDON
IN THE NEW COMEDY HIT
OVER TWENTY-ONE
MUSIC BOX, 45th St. W. of B'way. CI 6-4636—Evs. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:40
SCIENTIFICALLY AIR-CONDITONED

+ RED CROSS plasma is saving the lives of hundreds of wounded soldiers and sailors. But thousands of additional blood donors are needed. Give a pint of blood to save a life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Germany: the Black Record," and "Germany Will Try It Again" should also read Mr. Crippen's anthology, for it portrays Dr. Jekyll just as convincingly as they portray Mr. Hyde.

But it is not a very good book. Like many recent anthologists in this and kindred fields, Mr. Crippen has given us neither one thing nor the other. His book is not a collection of the best German writing, or even the best political writing, of the period; his choice of material would often be hard to defend on either historical or literary grounds; he omits many important authors, an omission which is not atoned for by editorial apology. He includes pieces—by Brecht and Becher, for example—which are far from being their author's best or most symptomatic work. The book consists chiefly of anti-Nazi writing; yet for some reason the program of the Nazi Party suddenly confronts us. The book consists chiefly of creative writing; yet suddenly we stumble upon the Weimar constitution. Above all, the book claims to be a self-portrait of Germany; but the only representative of Mr. Hyde is the prosaic Fritz Thyssen, whose "I Paid Hitler" may not be as authentic as Mr. Crippen assumes. Anyway, it is preposterous to quote such a work at length and not to quote at all the works of Hitler, Rosenberg, or H. S. Chamberlain.

Mr. Crippen assumes that Germany is Jekyll and Hyde, but does not find it necessary to strike up more than a nodding acquaintance with the latter. That is a mistake. But a deeper mistake is to accept the Jekyll and Hyde idea as more than a dramatic oversimplification. Like his antagonists, the Germanophobes, Mr. Crippen is utterly committed to this error. Are Jekyll and Hyde two sections of the German people? Are they two sections of each German? Some critics have followed one line, some the other; many have jumbled the two together. Would it not be wiser to abandon the somewhat boyish partisanship of such categories and consider Germany as a many-sided political and social problem which we must try to solve not because we are immune from hypothetically German traits but because we are citizens of the world? Of course every problem is to some extent a peculiar problem, but if we wish to find the peculiarity of German psychology through German literature, would it not be better to examine a really tough case of mixed mentality such as Oswald Spengler, Stefan George, or Thomas Mann?

The Germans are not a pack of blond beasts. Nor are they a band of victimized democrats. Nor are they divided into compact groups of each. Such neat categories can only lead to unrealistic policies. It is unrealistic to think that we might exterminate or sterilize the Germans. It wouldn't happen. It is unrealistic to think that we could reeducate the Germans, since imposed democracy is not democracy. On the other hand, it is equally unrealistic to hope that the Other Germany will snap into place, like a Reinhardt stage setting, once the present stage is cleared. A realistic policy will not be Germanophobe, nor will it be Germanophile except in so far as it is humane. And if we need a special understanding of German psychology we might read Franz Neumann on the structure of National Socialism or Konrad Heiden on Hitler. But we shall not need "Germany: a Self-Portrait."

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

How German democracy lost its battle for survival

Prelude to Silence

by Arnold Brecht

A brilliant analysis of the bitter political fight against rising totalitarianism which marked the ill-starred Weimar Republic under which Germany, step by step, lost her personal freedom. The author, an important official of the Republic throughout its history, shows how Hitler, gradually usurping the power which led to ultimate dictatorship, managed with two notorious exceptions to stay within the bounds of constitutional authority. $2.00

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 11

"The most illuminating document on the Soviet Union I have read since Alexander Barmin's autobiography."—Edmund Wilson, *New Yorker.*

My Lives in Russia

MARKOOSHA FISCHER

"A book written by an honest person, one who neither fears telling the truth nor who has any political or other aim for concealing that truth . . . all should read this book. It is convincing in its sincerity and warmth and simplicity."—PEARL BUCK, *Asia Magazine.*

"A simple, straightforward story of how Russians live and raise families; how they are housed; what they eat and wear; how they think and feel and amuse themselves; how their children are educated."—WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN, *N. Y. Times Book Review.*

3rd Printing $2.75

HARPER & BROTHERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS

ONLY one of the following movies seems to me worth more than a note, though three or four of them can be seen without more than a pint or so of anaesthetic.

The only one I really enjoyed was "They Met in Moscow," which, without seeming to take any trouble to do so, makes monkeys out of us in the field of musical comedy. It tells of the meeting, separation, longing, and reunion of a southern shepherd and a northern girl who herds swine. The songs they sing are excessive, vivid, pretty, uncommercial, and solidly rooted in alphabetic emotions. They are handled and photographed as if real faces and real fresh-air landscapes could not but be more pleasing than death masks peopling a vacuum-sealed magniloquence of scarlet linoleum and dry-ice mist. I wish I thought such a film could be made in this country; but our idea of "freshness" is pretty aptly embalmed, I'm afraid, in an inadvertent horror show about youth hostels called "Song of the Open Road," which made something so loathsome of youth that even "Home in Indiana" seemed comparatively harmless.

"Home in Indiana" is about adolescent love and harness racing. There are some half-appreciative Technicolor landscapes; there is about as little pleasure in horses as I have ever seen achieved in a horse movie. One of the female adolescents looks attractive in dungarees; another wears a couple of rather extreme bathing suits. None of them act their age or any other.

"Bathing Beauty" swarms with bathing suits and their contents; most often and most carnally in focus is Esther Williams, lolloping in a friendly way before under-water cameras. Above water level Harry James and Xavier Cugat play, and Red Skelton, for my leathery taste, is occasionally rather funny. I could not resist the wish that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer had topped its aquatic climax—a huge pool full of girls, fountains, and spouts of flame—by suddenly draining the tank and ending the show with the entire company writhing like goldfish on a rug. But M.-G.-M. resisted it.

Why "Two Girls and a Sailor" is the hit it seems to be must be explained by those who mistake the all-American bitchiness of the heroines for all-American cuteness, Van Johnson for homely charm, and what seemed hours of suffocating boredom for air-conditioned summer entertainment. But Gracie Allen does a funny number in it, and I would recommend it to anyone who cares remotely as much for Jimmy Durante as I do. He ought to have a great deal more to do. But even as a stage corpse he would make me grateful.

"Christmas Holiday" is fair enough while Deanna Durbin sings a quiet arrangement of "Always"; aside from that it is pseudo-tragic mush, about a New Orleans cabaret singer, her weak husband (Gene Kelly, wasting his time), and an insipid officer on furlough.

In "They Met in Moscow" the Russians show us how to make a musical comedy; in "Days of Glory"—the Russian "White Cliffs of Dover"—we show them how not to make a Russian war movie. I have an unhappy feeling that Casey Robinson, who wrote and produced it, wanted to do something artistically first-rate about the guerrillas; but the film interests only as a possibly accurate image of the Russia which may exist in the minds of the more fatuous contributors to Russian War Relief. Aside from Robinson's sincere intentions, I can speak courteously only of Tamara Toumanova's anachronistic beauty, which, I imagine, might have wrung dithyrambs out of Lord Byron.

JAMES AGEE

ART

NATURALISM does not altogether explain the art of Thomas Eakins. The hard-headed, mathematically founded account he gave of what met his eyes when he looked at the model or scene was the framework on which he projected an ideal chiaroscuro, unobtrusive only because worked out according to nature but not found there entirely. Eakins's imagination realized itself in the disposition of values—darks and lights—which transfigured the literal facts without violating them. Often he insisted on contrasts not too far from the poetic effects of such of his American contemporaries as Ryder, Newman, and Fuller. Chiaroscuro was a characteristic expression of the American sense of the poetical in the nineteenth century. It appears in literature in Hawthorne, Poe, and Melville, even in James. (As instance: blackness and night are the dominants of the first few chapters of "Moby Dick": the hero, stumbling through pitch darkness, finds a Negro prayer-meeting going on behind the first door from which he sees a ray of light. All of which is to prepare us at long remove for the violent contrast of the whiteness of the whale.) This American version of chiaroscuro opposes the unexplored to the explored, the mysterious to the known; man is isolated in a universe he can only make meaningful through symbolic or esoteric experience.

A good deal in Eakins argued against such a romanticism. Particularities, observed facts of light and texture, elicited some of his strongest painting. He had to acknowledge and state the given material before he could project his imagination. And not only did he show a new sensitivity to local color; he even intensified the literalness of his art—in an actual if not, fortunately, in a painterly sense—by beginning to model volumes in degrees of tone and color rather than in greater or lesser saturations of black or brown shading. Yet his impressionistic tendencies were usually overtaken by a sentiment of the dramatic and the psychological which always involved chiaroscuro—even when, toward the end, he began to see colors in the background shadows and their opacities began to dissolve and gleam.

Eakins had almost no manner, which explains why his paintings so often lack immediate presence and require a longer gaze to make themselves felt. But he did have a style, and that style evolved. His earliest work is the product of French influence in the sixties. Curiously enough, he reacted to Courbet and Delacroix in somewhat the same way Cézanne did: by simplifying and summarizing forms, caking his paint, and opposing his values sharply. This freedom seems to have been soon abandoned for another. There come pictures in which local colors are permitted to assert themselves with an intensity new for that period—here Eakins and Homer approach closest to each other. The effect of the large uniform areas of high color in a painting of the artist and his father hunting reed-birds (1874) is modern; the "Biglen Brothers Turning the Stake" (1873), a rowing scene, is almost revolutionary in its vivid spots of blue and the throbbing, suppressed luminosity of its sunlight. But Eakins appears then and there to have lost the gift for the transparent shadow and the broken, traveling high light that made his interior pieces and female portraits of the early seventies so powerful. He showed other sides of his talent, a greater enterprise in the investigation of appearances, and he was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

always able to make a successful picture out of any subject that showed light falling on or through soft fabric, but nothing he gained quite redeemed this loss. No longer under the inspiration of the French, his development became one of private involution rather than of public expansion; he reentered academic painting, to destroy it by its own logic but not to add a new impulse to painting in general.

The ridges of paint which duplicate the flesh tones and follow the contours of a female nude done as a study in the early eighties are from the brush of a master. But many of the portraits of that time, especially those of men, show a mere pedestrian honesty, succumbing too frequently to the social or professional types of the sitters. Nevertheless, it can be held fortunate, I think, that the failure of Eakins's genre painting to win acceptance—or perhaps his own self-recognition—made him limit himself more and more to the portrait. For his later genre pictures, including those really original examinations of subject and atmosphere which are his prize-fight scenes, lack a final emphasis, some called-for tension between dark and light; while he continued in spite of everything to produce fine portraits to the end of his career, arriving at a way of defining variously lit planes in flat high tones with sharper divisions—as in the portraits of Mrs. Kershaw, Mrs. Eakins, and Ruth Harding. Here lighted surfaces *displace* rather than emerge from surrounding shadows. A synthesis of Manet's impressionism with Rembrandtian psychologism was pointed to, which no one after Eakins could sustain under the conditions of the twentieth century. Eakins's art, as Lloyd Goodrich says, founded no school. His realism caught up with that of the French and produced some discoveries tending beyond realism itself, but he did not change the basis of his painting on their account or incorporate them in a new style. He remained a realist, a profound one, and he also remained of the nineteenth century.

The present loan exhibition of his paintings and sculpture (at Knoedler's through July 31) is in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Eakins's birth, and was preceded by a large centennial show during April and May in Philadelphia, the birthplace and home of the painter. Both exhibitions are on the way to establishing a canon of his masterpieces; but some of the best examples of his art are not included—the portrait in the present Museum of Modern Art show, and one of a woman in a blue dress which was displayed two years ago in the show of modern portraits at the same place—while four or five of the pictures now on view ought not to be put in any exhibition that intends to present Eakins at his strongest. CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

SOME time ago I discussed the changes which the late Frederick Stock felt free to make in the music he transcribed or merely performed with the Chicago Symphony. I spoke of the published edition of Griffes's "Kubla Khan," and of the transcription of Schubert's C major String Quintet that a Chicago reader had described to me, as well as of what I had heard myself—the performance of Schumann's Third Symphony, and the newly issued recorded performance of the transcription of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E flat. Later I received from William R. Wambaugh, music editor of the University of Chicago's student newspaper the Chicago *Maroon,* a clipping of his review of the recorded performance of Chausson's Symphony, in which he pointed out a change in the last movement that I had not noticed because I did not have the score of the work: "In the twenty-two bars commencing at the *grave* at '0' our Symphony's organist has a lovely solo passage which the composer had scored for 4 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, and kettledrums. No doubt Stock knew better." And in his letter he added: "Unfortunately, in Chicago, we have long been exposed to such assaults on our intelligence."

As a matter of fact the Chicago musical public was exposed to Stock's mediocre and tasteless musicianship for thirty-seven years. And the reader who wrote me about the transcription of Schubert's Quintet gave me an account of what has happened since Stock's death. For a year his associate, Hans Lange, carried on while the Orchestra Association had a number of conductors come for visits and consideration as Stock's successor. "This Orchestra Association, like similar bodies elsewhere, is made up of the usual 'civic leaders'—business and society men without musical and aesthetic knowledge, interested chiefly in a smooth-working organization that will provide a season less notable for musical distinction than for social and chamber-of-commerce uses. There is no evidence that any musical or critical authorities were consulted. We had no visits from Toscanini, Walter, Beecham, or Koussevitzky; it was said that they were all 'too old' for the post—though, since it is likely that they will still be conducting for another five or ten years, it seems strange that a town and orchestra of this rank would not choose one of the undisputed leaders of the profession. Rodzinski and Stokowski were neither invited nor mentioned; it was rumored that these men, like Toscanini and Beecham, were 'too temperamental' for the trustees and musicians. As a consequence the candidates were a line of second-string conductors—Steinberg, Barlow, Defauw, Barbirolli, and Kurtz; and Defauw was elected almost immediately after leading a couple of concerts in which he offered a mussily sparkless version of Debussy's Nocturnes, a feverish account of Franck's 'Éloides,' and one of the bumpiest performances of Beethoven's Seventh on record—and even before four of the remaining candidates were given a hearing."

In estimating Defauw's work this first season my correspondent wrote that one had to make allowance for the unusual difficulties which he faced—"the local Stock hero-worship, the war conditions that are depleting the ranks of the players"—in addition to the "inevitable problems of mastering a complex instrument." But what also had to be recognized was "the superficiality of his discipline and the erratic individualism of his musicianship." In his performances "there seems to be no given standard of timing, tone, feeling, or interpretation. Most conductors, even minor ones, have recognizable principles that account for both their failings and their successes. But here we get eloquence and feebleness, hectic stridency

"HEAVEN AND HELL"

The most definite teaching on the certainty of immortality and on the life hereafter is to be found in the Writings of

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

famed scientist, philosopher, theologian and statesman. His book on HEAVEN AND HELL, FROM THINGS SEEN AND HEARD, may be obtained by new readers at the introductory price of five cents.

SWEDENBORG FOUNDATION, INC.
Room 1636, 51 East 42nd St., New York 17

Rec. by Prof. Simmons of Cornell, teachers in U.S. Army, Amer.-Russ. Inst., as: *"best at any price for students, invaluable grammatical aid."*

NEW RUSSIAN-ENGLISH & ENGLISH-RUSSIAN DICTIONARY ed. by M. A. O'Brien, Ph.D.

NEW ORTHOGRAPHY. 70,000 terms. 720 p. Accentuation. Colloquialisms. **$1.98**

DOVER PUB. 31 E. 27 St., N.Y. 16, N.Y. DEPT. D

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and pallid languor, declamatory passion and mincing French delicacy in no discernible relation to the piece being performed. Sometimes we get them all huddled together by fits and starts. What happens to music and playing of that kind is soon evident: it lapses into muddle and inconsequence."

Discussing the effect of the war on the orchestra's personnel my correspondent wrote that in addition to the large number of players who had been drafted another large group had been told they would be inducted unless they took war jobs in factories in addition to their work in the orchestra. "I have been told on sound authority that in one gun-making plant as many as fifteen or eighteen orchestra players are on duty from midnight to eight in the morning, after which they must attend rehearsals, practice, get what sleep they can, attend to their practical affairs, play at concerts, and get back to the factory by midnight. . . . I wonder if the situation I have described here prevails generally in America—if trained musicians whose service to public morale no one would care to deny are being forced to work days and nights to justify their continuance in civilian life." Recognizing that under a system of compulsory war-service "discrimination among publicly necessary trades, crafts, and services is an almost baffling problem in values and claims," my correspondent asked: "But is any serious selection and discrimination being practised at all? Are competent boards, composed of other than military or political officials, in operation to exercise such judgment?"

Evidently not; since the most brilliant male dancer of today, Igor Youskevitch, is being trained for active service in the Navy. B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN W. WHITE has represented American newspapers in Santiago, Chile, for many years.

BRIAN PENTON is the editor of the Sydney, Australia, *Daily Telegraph* and author of the novels "Landtakers" and "Inheritors."

DWIGHT MACDONALD is editor of *Politics,* a weekly journal.

MICHAEL CLARK is the accredited correspondent of *The Nation* in North Africa and the Middle East.

PAUL ROSENFELD is the author of "By Way of Art."

Letters to the Editors

Inexpedient Expedient

[We print below a comment on Alvarez del Vayo's article, No Unity with Fascists, which appeared in The Nation *of June 3. Comments by other political observers appeared last week.]*

Dear Sirs: In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred a policy of expediency turns out not to be expedient. If there can be an argument in the present period for exploiting conflicts within the fascist camp, there can be none for unity with fascists in any section of the anti-Nazi front. Mr. del Vayo has stated that convincingly for the Nazi vassal countries. What about the center of Nazism? What about Germany itself?

Oddly enough, for some people there seems to be a problem. Among certain circles in the United Nations preparations are being made for a policy of expediency toward Germany. Reliable sources report that plans for the administration of occupied Germany envisage extensive reliance on civil servants who have served faithfully under the Nazis. Moreover, speculation about the best candidate for a German Badoglio has led one crowd to favor Rundstedt, or even Rommel, another to choose the Junker general, von Seydlitz. To be quite fair to the officers around Seydlitz in the Moscow "Association of German Commissioned Officers," they have made statements showing a certain recognition of the destructive role of fascism. On the other hand, however, they have repeatedly stated that they hope to see the German army so used as to be an instrument for peace. This is certainly the one function the German army cannot be trusted with.

There are two explanations for such speculations. One is a deep suspicion that there are no genuine democratic forces in Germany. This results partly from insufficient knowledge of modern German history—which is not only the history of aggressive imperialism but also of the continual struggle waged against it by democratic forces—and partly from insufficient understanding of modern fascism's capacity to drive democratic opposition temporarily underground. The other is fear of exactly those elements whose existence the defenders of expediency deny—the potential revolutionary forces in the fascist countries. It is difficult for people in the Western democracies, with their relatively stable societies, to understand the urgent need for revolutionary social change in the countries where democratic development has been retarded. Until these fundamental social changes take place, the fascist countries cannot become partners in a democratic world and a lasting peace. To countenance any kind of German Badoglioism after Hitler will simply contribute to the reproduction of the evil which, more than anything else, has been the motive force behind aggressions in our time. Therefore the only expediency for progressive forces lies in fostering the completion of the democratic revolution after the defeat of Hitler. PAUL HAGEN

New York, June 7

Unheroic Hero

Dear Sirs: Diana Trilling, in her review of Anna Seghers's latest novel "Transit" in your issue of May 20, stated that the author dealt unsympathetically with refugees. I found no trace of such an attitude in the novel. Quite the contrary. In this book as in all her writing Seghers's creative urge springs from her deep solidarity with human beings, a solidarity that is to her the fundamental fact of social life as well as of her own political beliefs. Her attitude toward the refugees is certainly not "something between ironic superiority and a sneer." I would call it rather controlled pathos or grim pity. Mrs. Trilling is right in saying that the love story of the narrator is "a cruel joke of a plot," but isn't the fate of most of these refugees a cruel joke? Many such fates are woven into the complicated web of the narrator's reflections. What makes these scenes and characters unforgettable is the author's unrelenting compassion, even if the tragedy of people "caught in a terrible maze of transit visas, exit visas, and steamship accommodations" appears to her as narrator a bitter farce compared to the martyrdom of mangled nations and the heroism of active fighters. The narrator's report is indeed "a frightening statement," not of a special political morality, as Mrs. Trilling indicates, but of this transit world of ours.

The narrator depicts a type of refugee who has thus far not been described and is rarely mentioned in literature or films

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—the refugee who in spite of having gone through the hell of concentration camps, of flight and disaster, is not able to depart from the soil of Europe, to cut the invisible umbilical cord that binds him to the old continent. So he can't make use of the accommodations which he has tried by every means to get and which are ultimately offered to him. That makes him hardly believable to people over here, who are daily pressed to do all they can to rescue the victims of Nazi tyranny, to make affidavits for them, and to grant them free ports. Since he doesn't want to remain in Europe for any political purpose—he has arrived at a state of political apathy—he cannot count on much understanding and sympathy. His seems to be a case of an emigration neurosis. His lack of decisiveness, his passivity, his fatalism are not attractive; they are even abhorrent. He would rather lie to himself about his chances to survive in a Hitler-ridden France than take a resolute step—which makes him look like a hopeless defeatist. Poor wretch of a man! He may perish, or he may be able to stall, as a farm hand or as a loafer, until the invasion by the Allied armies makes him active again and gives him, in the liberation of Europe, a real purpose.

I hope I have been able to convey in these few lines what seems to me the significance of this unheroic hero, this queer lover, and the value of this tormenting and tormented book by Anna Seghers.

BERTHOLD VIERTEL

New York, June 11

Too Generous

Dear Sirs: Mr. Viertel reads Miss Seghers's novel generously but I think inaccurately. He implies that "Transit" is the account of a man at the mercy of fate, whereas actually it is the account of a man ruthlessly manipulating the fate of a woman. He says that the narrator of the novel is indecisive, passive, and fatalistic; actually, Miss Seghers's narrator is full of scheming energy in pursuit of his love. Mr. Viertel regards Miss Seghers's principal character as the object of his author's compassion, but actually this unheroic hero is his author's mouthpiece; no voice is raised above his voice, and it is only through his cruel eyes that we see the transit world.

I could wish that "Transit" had been written from the point of view Mr. Viertel finds in it.

DIANA TRILLING

New York, June 20

Brother Raymond's Conclusions

Dear Sirs: As the head of the Department of Politics of the Catholic University of America and the major professor responsible for the direction of Brother August Raymond Ogden's Ph.D. dissertation on "The Dies Commitee," may I thank you for the space which you have accorded to it in the two articles by I. F. Stone in the issues of May 27 and June 3. In justice to Brother Raymond, however, a sentence or two more of his conclusions should have been added to that quoted in the issue of May 27. As Mr. Stone indicates in his quotation, there still remain "many aspects of subversive activity that only a Congressional committee could thoroughly and completely expose." But Mr. Stone fails to report that Brother Raymond recommends that "a joint standing committee [of the House and Senate] be created to maintain a continual investigation of subversive affairs," furnished with "enough money to allow it to employ a staff of competent and disinterested investigators." Furthermore, "a method of collaboration with the FBI should be provided" to avoid overlapping and duplication. Also "certain rules would have to be adopted," not necessarily the "complicated rules of evidence as used in the courts," but "a system of procedure based on respect for the individual rights of all citizens and consonant with the American tradition of fair play." In the case of federal employees suspected of subversive activities, "the role of the proposed committee should be limited to the assembling of data," leaving to the Civil Service Commission appropriate action thereon, with the right of appeal to the duly constituted courts on the part of either the Congressional committee or the person investigated. Brother Raymond specifies some of these rules and concludes that "a joint standing committee set up under the conditions enumerated would be able to avoid many of the pitfalls met by the Dies committee and at the same time protect the nation from subversive activities by means more in keeping with the American tradition of respect for the rights of all. It would be American, not in its end alone, but in all the means employed to attain that end. . . . Especially after the war it would be a potent force for maintaining that American democracy for which so many true Americans will have sacrificed their all."

HERBERT WRIGHT

Washington, D. C., June 15

CHILDREN'S CAMP

SMILING HILLS CAMP
EAST STROUDSBURG PENNSYLVANIA
A progressive camp for boys and girls, from 4 to 12 years of age. All activities. Non-sectarian. Non-regimented. Individual care. (Limited to 50 campers)
Write:
James & Nellie Dick, Modern School,
115 Cary St., Lakewood, N. J. Phone 1007

FARMS, ACREAGE

CHARMING small colonial; 20 beautiful acres; ideal location; good barns; $3,000. 300 others. Berkshire Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y.

VERMONT FARM, 110 acres, good 7-room house with bath, furnished, barns, etc., ideal for summer home, $2500. I. J. Levy, West Topsham, Vt.

FOR RENT

114 St., 508 W.—Arizona, $5 and up. Opposite Columbia, luxurious studios, housekeeping; 24-hour elevator, switch-board service.

Single or double room, nicely furnished, with private bath, in modern elevator apartment, for July and August. TR 7-8224, before 10 a.m., after 6.

WANTED TO PURCHASE

PHONOGRAPH LANGUAGE SETS, Language, Room 1203, 18 East 41st St., N. Y. C. 17.

POSITION WANTED

FOOD SUPERVISOR, buying food, charge of menus, also charge of dining room or kitchen if necessary. Nursery school preferred. Experienced. References. Box 1474, c/o The Nation.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE
THE NATION
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to your magazine.

☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8
☐ 3 Years $11
☐ Remittance is inclosed ☐ Bill me

Introductory Offer to New Subscribers ONLY:
☐ **10 Weeks $1**
Cash with order

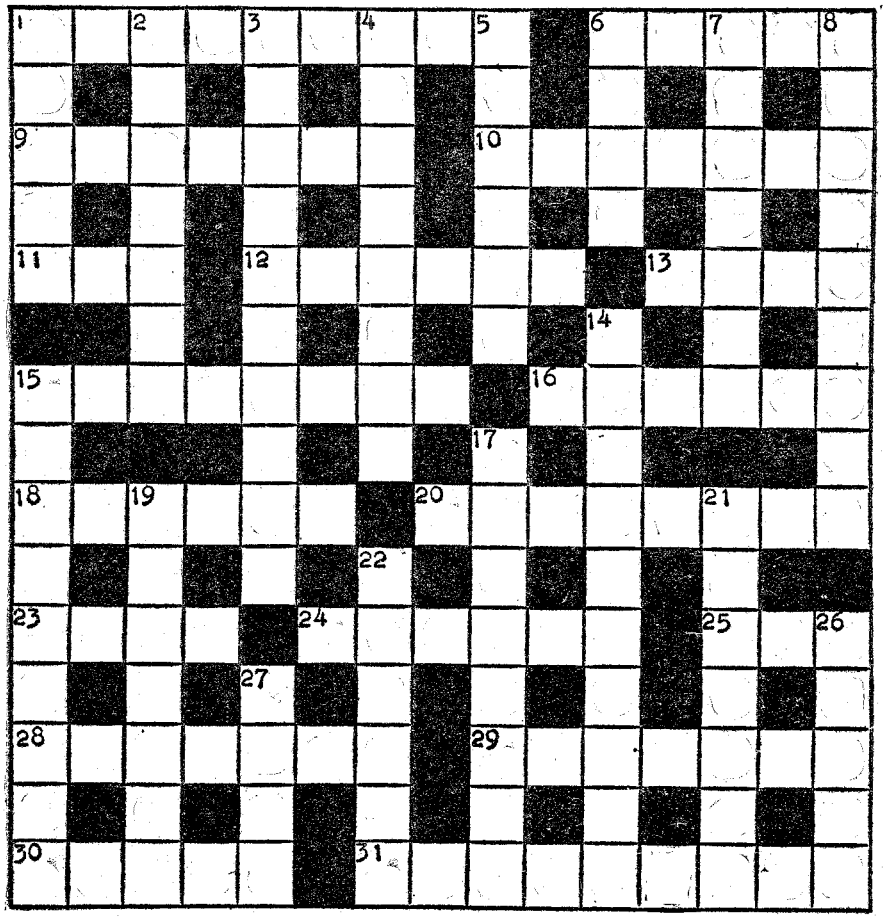
Canada $1 a year extra
Foreign $1 a year extra
Pan American Union requires no extra postage

Name.....
Address.....
7-1-44

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 70

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Unprincipled hypocrite in *Martin Chuzzlewit*
6 An oar reveals his name
9 A petty quibble. Quell it!
10 Where it sounds like glasses, but is really jug (two words, 2 and 5)
11 Raised Cain
12 Women didn't dress in this when they asked for a vote
13 As a doornail
15 You have to close your eyes in order to see it
16 Engagement that isn't broken off at the option of either party
18 City of the King of Laputa, whose scientists tried to extract sunbeams from cucumbers and to convert ice into gunpowder (*Gulliver's Travels*)
20 "And -------- near a thousand homes I stood, And near a thousand tables pined and wanted food" (Wordsworth)
23 A fruit that sounds like more than one
24 Title, and heroine, of a Fielding novel
25 Out of town
28 "O, slap it!" (anag.)
29 There's room for a girl in this bread basket!
30 Flowers for sprinkling among others
31 Members of the press gang

DOWN

1 Ill-feeling you get on the top of a mountain?
2 Simple Susie used to think they were authors, since their tails came out of their heads
3 Anxiety for 101 in icy isolation
4 It was Constantinople when *we* went to school, but that was before 1929
5 Crusoe's faithful man
6 The Marble one in London *is* made of marble
7 There's a broken tear in the clothing
8 A bare headland?
14 A workman seems to interpolate a note with musical aptitude in Wagner (two words, 4 and 6)
15 Alter step (anag.)
17 Recline, do I? with ginger beer—that's sweet!
19 Horse, sheep and Manx cat in one creature
21 Nine wet (anag.)
22 What the horse we back usually turns out to be
26 Diet of Luther
27 Solon likened them to cobwebs—they held the powerless, but not the powerful

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 69

ACROSS:—1 COLD IN THE HEAD; 10 LAIRS; 11 NELL GWYNN; 12 OVEREATEN; 13 ESHER; 14 APPEAL BOARDS; 19 AFTERTHOUGHT; 22 AARON; 24 MODERNIST; 25 CRICKETER; 26 IBSEN; 27 GHASTLY DREAMS.

DOWN:—2 OLIVER; 3 DISTEMPER; 4 NINETIETH; 5 HELEN; 6 HAGUE; 7 ANYWHERE; 8 ELBOW; 9 UNDRESS; 15 LAUNDERED; 16 OTHERWISE; 17 VACANCY; 18 STARFISH; 20 LISSOM; 21 STONE; 23 NOKES; 24 METAL.

RESORTS

RELAX, REJOICE WITH SUMMER AT
Lakecrest
on Hunn's Lake • Stanfordville, N. Y.
90 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations. Cordial hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal sports. Via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amenia, N. Y. Open all year.
WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATION
EVA BERG, Director Standfordville 4108

Tinkerland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 100
ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE
MUSIC • LECTURES • CONCERTS
N. Y. OFFICE: 33 W. 42 St. LOngacre 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

The Oaks
Formerly RED OAKS
Elberon, N. J.
Enjoy all outdoor sports, excellent tennis, ocean bathing, delicious cuisine, in this American plan country estate. On Highway 4N, only 50 miles from N. Y. C. (Jersey Central or Pennsylvania R. R. direct to Elberon.) Phone Long Branch 2483
Management of Joseph Horowitz

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.
35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"
The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Dignified. All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.
OPEN ALL YEAR Phone Armonk Village 955

WESTERN VIEW FARM
25th Season
TED OHMER
New Milford Connecticut
Telephone: NEW MILFORD 440

Intimate Different Delightful OAKWOOD NEW WINDSOR, NEW YORK
Tel.: Newburgh 4477. Only 58 miles from N.Y.C.
Enjoy the charm of this Colonial Estate. Spacious grounds. Private Lake. Boating. Swimming. All sports. Unexcelled food.
Limited accommodations.

SHADYBROOK
MAHOPAC, N. Y. Tel. Mahopac 963
50 miles from N. Y. C. 140 acres rustic country, secluded, restful, homelike. Unexcelled American cuisine. Tennis, handball, etc.; golf, swimming, riding. Free MOVIES.
JULY and AUGUST — $40 Weekly; $7 per day
Write for Booklet N. POPPER & SIMON

GRANITE LAKE CABINS—With private baths; Simmons beds. Water sports, excellent home cooking. Adults only, $60 a week double. Box 77, Munsonville, New Hampshire.

ROMAINE VILLA, Monsey, N. Y. Meals for better health. Ideal for rest and convalescing. Limited accommodations. Spring Valley 525.

Shorten the Road to Victory
BUY BONDS!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED